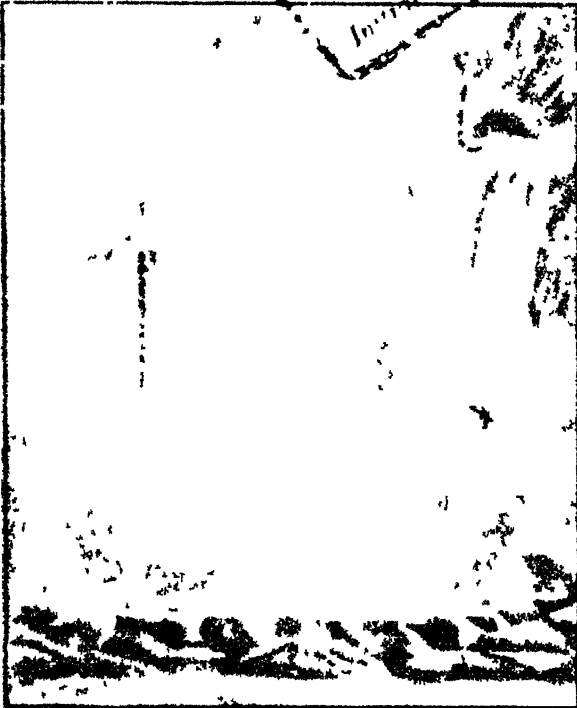




# आर्यधर्म शिक्षा



ANORBANS PRESS BLOCK MAKERS  
& PRINTERS ANARBALL LAMONZ

कविराज रणवीर शास्त्री



# आर्यधर्म शिक्षा ।

अर्थात्

बालकोपयोगी आर्यसामाजिक विषयों का अपूर्व संग्रह

लेखक—

काविराज विद्यारत्न  
पण्डित रणवीर शास्त्री

प्रकाशक—

वजीरचन्द्र शर्मा  
अध्यक्ष वैदिक पुस्तकालय, मोहनलाल रोड, लाहौर

सृष्टि सम्बत् १९७२-६४-६०३०

वि० सम्बत् १९८७ दयानन्दाब्द १०६

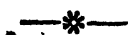
मुद्रक—

लाला लालजीदास  
पेंग्लो ओरियण्टल प्रेस, चेम्बर लैन रोड, लाहौर ।

प्रथम बार १००० ]

मूल्य २॥

# भूमिका



इस पुस्तक का उद्देश बालकों को आर्यसमाज सम्बन्धी विषयों का ज्ञान करना है। संसार का उपकार करना आर्यसमाज का मुख्य उद्देश है। इसके सिद्धान्त तर्क और विज्ञान के अनुकूल हैं अतएव सर्वोत्तम तथा माननीय हैं। इमने धार्मिक जगत् में अपूर्व क्रान्ति उत्पन्न कर दी है। देश और जाति में सद्भावों का संचार कर स्वाधीनता का मार्ग प्रदर्शित किया है। आर्यजाति को जीवित तथा जाग्रत बना दिया है। जनता ने इमके सिद्धान्तों को ग्रहण कर दूरदर्शिता का परिचय दिया है। आर्यसमाज उत्तरोत्तर उन्नति कर रहा है। आर्यसिद्धान्तों के पढ़ने और मनन करने से बच्च सभ्य सुशील और स्वदेशभक्त बन सकते हैं। इसीलिये उनके ज्ञान के लिये संध्या हवन महर्षि दयानन्द, आर्यसमाज आदि ज्ञानव्य विषयों का सरल सुबोध तथा मनोरञ्जक भाषा में प्रतिपादन किया गया है। आशा है कि आर्यमहानुभाव पुस्तक का आर्य संस्थाओं में प्रचार कर मेरे उत्साह को बढ़ावेंगे, और त्रुटियों से सूचित कर कृतार्थ करेंगे।

लाहौर  
ता० ६-६-३० }  
}

निवेदक—  
रणवीर शास्त्री

# आर्यधर्म शिक्षा

## सन्ध्योपासनविधिः



सन्ध्या—मन लगाकर ईश्वर की भक्ति करना संध्या कहलाती है। सायं प्रातः दोनों समय शुद्ध पवित्र होकर दर्भासन या ऊन का आसन अथवा चौकी आदि पर बैठ कर एकान्त स्थान में संध्या करनी चाहिये। जिस प्रकार शरीर के लिये भोजन आवश्यक है इसी प्रकार अन्तःकरण की शुद्धि, आत्मिकबल तथा ईश्वरज्ञान के लिये संध्या करनी आवश्यक है। संध्या करने से चित्त स्थिर, आत्मोन्नति अभिमान का नाश और बुद्धि तीव्र होती है। संध्या अवश्य करो। सन्ध्या न करने से महा पाप होता है।

ओरेम्—शब्द का अर्थ सर्वत्र, सर्वदा, और सर्वथा रक्षक है। इस एक नाम से परमात्मा के अनेक नामों का ग्रहण होता है, अतः यह सर्वोत्तम नाम है।

( २ )

## अथ सन्ध्या ।

### आचमनमन्त्रः

ओं शन्नो देवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पीतये ।  
शंयोरभिस्रवन्तु नः ॥१॥

तीन बार मन्त्र उच्चारण कर तीन आचमन करने चाहिये ।

### अंगस्पर्शः

ओं वाक् वाक् । ओं प्राणः प्राणः । ओं चक्षुः चक्षुः ।  
ओं श्रोत्रम् श्रोत्रम् । ओं नाभिः । ओं हृदयम् । ओं कण्ठः ।  
ओं शिरः । ओं बाहुभ्यां यशोबलम् । ओं करतलकर  
पृष्ठे ॥२॥

### मार्जनमन्त्रः

ओं भूः पुनातु शिरशि । ओं भ्रुवः पुनातु नेत्रयोः ।  
ओं स्वः पुनातु कण्ठे । ओं महः पुनातु हृदये । ओं जनः  
पुनातु नाभ्याम् । ओं तपः पुनातुपादयोः । ओं सत्यं पुनातु  
पुनः शिरिस । ओं खंब्रह्म पुनातु सर्वत्र ॥३॥

### प्राणायाममन्त्रः

ओं भूः । ओं भ्रुवः । ओं स्वः । ओं महः । ओं जनः ।  
ओं तपः । ओं सत्यम् ॥४॥

### अघमर्षणमन्त्राः

ओं ऋतञ्च सत्यञ्चाभीद्वात् तपसोऽध्यजायत । ततो  
रात्र्यजायत ततः समुद्रोअर्णवः ॥१॥ ओं समुद्रादर्णवादधि  
सर्वत्सरो अजायत । अहोरात्राणि विदधद् विश्वस्य मिषतो  
वशी ॥२॥ ओं सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ धाता यथापूर्वमकल्पयत् ।  
दिवश्च पृथिवी चान्तरिक्षमथो स्वः ॥३॥

### मनसापरिक्रमामन्त्राः

ओं प्राची दिग्ग्निरधिपति रसितो रक्षिताऽऽदित्या  
इषवः । तेभ्यो नमो ऽधिपतिभ्यो नमो रक्षितृभ्यो नम  
इषुभ्यो नम एभ्यो अस्तु थोऽस्मान् द्वेष्टि यं वयं द्विष्म  
स्तं वो जम्भे दध्मः ॥१॥

शेष पांच मन्त्रों में “तेभ्यो नमः से जम्भे दध्मः” तक का  
पाठ समझ लेना चाहिये ।

ओं दक्षिणा दिग्न्द्रोऽधिपतिस् तिराश्चि राजी रक्षिता  
पितर इषवः । तेभ्यो० ॥२॥ ओं प्रतीची दिग् वरुणोऽधि-  
पतिः पृदाक् रक्षितान्मिषवः । तेभ्यो० ॥३॥ ओं  
उदीची दिक् सोमोऽधिपतिः स्वजो रक्षिताशनिरिषवः ।  
तेभ्यो० ॥४॥ ओं ध्रुवा दिग् विष्णुरधिपतिः कल्माष-

ग्रीवो रक्षिता वीरुध इषवः । तेभ्यो० ॥५॥ ओं ऊर्ध्वा  
दिग्बृहस्पतिरधिपतिः श्वित्रो रक्षिता वर्षामिषवः । तेभ्यो० ॥६॥

### उपस्थानमन्त्राः

ओं उद्वयं तमसस्परि स्वः पश्यन्त उत्तरम् । देवं देवत्रा  
सूर्यमगन्म ज्योतिरुत्तमम् ॥१॥ ओं उदुत्यं जातवेदसं देवं  
षट्कन्ति केतवः । दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् ॥२॥ ओं चित्रं  
देवाना मुदगादनीकं चक्षुर्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः । आ प्रा  
द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्य आत्मा जगतस् तस्थुषश्च  
स्वाहा ॥३॥ ओं तच्चक्षु देवहितं पुरस्ताच् छुक्रमुचरत् ।  
पश्येम शरदः शतं जीवेम शरदः शतं शृणुयाम शरदः  
शतं प्रब्रवाम शरदः शतमदीना स्याम शरदः शतं भूयश्च  
शरदः शतात् ॥४॥

### गायत्री ( गुरु, सावित्री ) मन्त्रः

ओं भू भूर्ध्रुवः स्वः । तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि  
धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥१॥

भावार्थ—हैं परमपितः परमात्मन् ! आपही प्राणाधार, दुःख  
नाशक और आनन्ददाता हैं । हम सब जगत् के उपपत्तिकर्ता  
प्रकाशस्वरूप, ऐश्वर्य के दाता, कामना करने योग्य, सर्वत्र विजय  
कराने वाले जगदीश्वर के पापनाशक तथा सर्वोत्तम प्रकाश

( ५ )

( तेज ) का ध्यान करते हैं । हे परमेश्वर ? आप हमें उत्तम गुण, कर्म, स्वभावयुक्त बुद्धि प्रदान कीजिये ।

### समर्पण मन्त्रः

ओं नमः शम्भवाय च मयोभवाय च नमः शङ्कराय  
च मयस्कराय च नमः शिवाय शिवतराय च ॥

सन्ध्योपासन विधिः समाप्तः ॥



### प्रभु भक्ति का भजन ?

ईश्वर का जप जाप रे मन, वृथा काहे को जन्म गवावे ॥१॥  
दीनानाथ दयालु स्वामी, परगट सब जा आप रे ॥२॥  
सर्व व्यापक की पूजा कर, दूर होवें दुःख ताप रे ॥३॥  
कर सन्ध्या और पढ़ गायत्री, मिट जावें सन्ताप रे ॥४॥  
छोड़ असत् औरसत् को ग्रहण कर, नष्ट होवें सबपाप रे ॥५॥  
खुश होकर प्रभु बिनती सुन ले, 'वैसर' करे विरलाप रे ॥६॥





## अथेश्वरस्तुतिप्रार्थनोपसनाः

**स्तुति**—ईश्वर अथवा किसी दूसरे पदार्थ के गुणगान कथन श्रवण और सत्य भाषण करना होती है। स्तुति से प्रीति और गुण कर्म स्वभाव का सुधार होता है।

**प्रार्थना**—पूर्ण पुरुषार्थ के उपरान्त उत्तम कर्मों की सिद्धि के लिये परमेश्वर अथवा सामर्थ्यवान् पुरुष से सहायता लेना कहलाती है, प्रार्थना से निरभिमान उत्साह और साहाय्य प्राप्त होता है।

**उपासना**—ईश्वर के ही आनन्दस्वरूप में आत्मा को मग्न करना कहलाती है। इससे परब्रह्म से मेल और उसका साक्षात्कार होता है।

## मन्त्राः

ओं विश्वानि देव सवित दुर्गतानि परासुव । यद्भर्द्रं  
तन्न आसुव ॥१॥ ओं हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे भूतस्य जातः  
पतिरेक आसीत् । स दाधार पृथिवीं द्यामुतेमां कस्मै देवाय  
हविषा विधेम ॥२॥ ओं य आत्मदा वलदा यस्य विश्व  
उपासते प्रशिषं यस्य देवाः । यस्पच्छायाऽमृतं यस्य  
मृत्युः कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥३॥ ओं यः प्राणतो  
निमिषतो महित्वैक इद्राजा जगतो बभूव । य ईशे अस्य-  
द्विपदश्चतुष्पदः कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥४॥ ओं येन

द्यौरुग्रा पृथिवी च दृढा येन स्वः स्तभितं येन नाकः ।  
यो अन्तरिक्षे रजसो विमानः कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम  
॥५॥ ओं प्रजापते न त्वदेतान्यन्यो विश्वा जातानि  
परिता बभूव । यत्कामास्ते जुहुमस्तन्नो अस्तु वयं स्याम  
पतयो रयीणाम् ॥६॥ ओं स नो बन्धु र्जनिता स विधाता  
धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा । यत्र देवा अमृतमान-  
शानास्तृतीये धामन् नर्धैरयन्त ॥७॥ ओं अग्ने नय सुपथा  
राये अस्मान् विश्वानि देव व युनानि विद्वान् युयोध्यस्मज्जु-  
हुराणमेनो भूयिष्ठान्ते नम उक्तिं विधेम ॥८॥

### अथ हवनमन्त्राः

निम्नलिखित मन्त्रों से एक २ आचमन करें ।

ओं अमृतोपस्तरणमसि स्वाहा । ओं अमृतापिधान-  
मसि स्वाहा । ओं सत्यं यशः श्री र्मयि श्रीः श्रयतां स्वाहा ।

इन मन्त्रों से अङ्ग स्पर्श करें ।

ओं वाङ् मऽआस्ये ऽस्तु—मुख

ओं नसो मे प्राणोऽस्तु— नासिका के दोनों छिद्र

ओं अक्ष्णो मे चक्षुरस्तु—दोनों आंखें

आ कर्णयो मे श्रोत्रमस्तु—दोनों कान

ओं बाह्वो मे बलमस्तु—दोनों बाहु

ओं ऊवो में ओजो ऽस्तु—दोनों जंघा, और

ओं अरिष्टानि मे ऽङ्गानि तनूस्तन्वा में सह सन्तु—इसने दाहिने हाथ से जल स्पर्श कर मार्जन करना चाहिये ।

ओं भूर्भुवः स्व मन्त्र को पढ़कर ब्राह्मणादि के घर से अग्नि लाकर वा. कर्पूर जला कर अग्न्याधान करे ।

### अग्न्याधानमंत्रः

ओं भूर् भुव स्व द्यौरिव भूम्या पृथिवीव व्वरिम्णा ।  
तस्यास्ते पृथिवि देवयजनि पृष्टे ऽग्नि मन्नाद मन्नाद्याया-  
दधे ॥१॥

### अग्नि प्रदीप्त करने का मन्त्रः

ओं उद्बुध्यस्वाग्ने प्रतिजागृहि त्वमिष्टापूर्ते सꣳ सृजे-  
थामयं च । अस्मिन् सधस्थे अध्युत्तरस्मिन् विश्वे देवा  
यजमानश्च सीदत ॥२॥

निम्न लिखित मन्त्रों से एक २ समिधा घृत में भिगो कर अग्नि में डाले। समिधा आठ २ अंगुल लकड़ी की होनी चाहिये।

ओं अयन्त इध्म आत्मा जातवेदस्ते नेध्यस्व वर्द्धस्व  
चेद्धवर्धय चास्मान् प्रजया पशुभि ब्रह्मवर्चसेनाम्नाद्येन  
समधेय स्वाहा । इदमग्नये जातवेदसे इदन्न मम ॥१॥

एक समिधा ।

ओं समिधाग्निं दुवस्यत घृतै वींधयतातिथिम् ।

आस्मिन् हव्वा जुहोतन स्वाहा । इदमग्नये जातवेदसे—इदन्न मम ॥२॥ ओं सुसमिद्धाय शोचिषे घृतं तीव्रं जुहोतन अग्नये जातवेदसे स्वाहा । इदमग्नये जातवेदसे— इदन्न मम ॥३॥

इन दोनों मन्त्रों से दूसरी समिधा ।

ओं तन्त्वा समिद्धिरङ्गिरो घृतेन वर्द्धयामसि । बृहच्छो-  
चायविष्टय स्वाहा । इदमग्नये ऽङ्गिरसे—इदन्न मम ।

इससे तीसरी समिधा ।

ओं अयन्त इध्म० इस मन्त्र से ५ घृत की आहुतियां दें

### जलप्रसेचनमन्त्राः

इन मन्त्रों से दाहिनी अङ्गुली जल में लेकर वेदिके चारों  
ओर छिड़के।

ओं अदिते अनुमन्यस्व (पूर्व) ओं अनुमतेऽनुमन्यस्व  
(पश्चिम) ओं सरस्वत्यनुमन्यस्व (उत्तर) ओं देव सवितः  
प्रसुव यज्ञं प्रसुव यज्ञपतिं भगाय दिव्यो गन्धर्वः केतपूः  
केतं नः पुनातु वाचस्पतिर्वाचं नः स्वदतु ॥४॥ (चारोंओर)

### आधारावाज्याहुति और आज्यभागाहुति

ओं अग्नये स्वाहा । इदमग्नये—इदन्न मम ।

वेदिके उत्तर भाग अग्नि में डाले

ओं सोमाय स्वाहा । इदं सोमाय इदन्न मम ।

वेदिके दक्षिण भाग में डालें

ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा । इदं प्रजापतये—इदन्न मम ॥१॥  
ओं इन्द्राय स्वाहा । इदमिन्द्राय—इदन्न मम ॥२॥  
इन दोनों मन्त्रों से वेदि के मध्य में दो आहुतियां देवे ।

### व्याहृति आहुति के मन्त्र

ओं भूरग्नये स्वाहा । इदमग्नये इदन्न मम ॥९॥ ओं  
भुव वायवे स्वाहा । इदं वायवे इदन्न मम ॥१०॥ ओं स्वरा-  
दित्याय स्वाहा । इदमादित्याय इदन्न मम ॥११॥ ओं भू  
भुव स्वराग्निवाय्वादित्येभ्यः स्वाहा । इदमाग्निवाय्वादि-  
त्येभ्य इदन्न मम ॥१२॥

स्विष्टकृदाहुति का मन्त्र—यह घृत अथवा भान की देनी  
चाहिये ।

ओं यदस्य कर्मणोऽत्यरीरिचं यद्वा न्यूनमिहाकरम् ।  
अग्निष्ट त्स्विष्टकृद्विद्यात् सर्वं स्विष्टं सुहुतं करोतु मे ।  
अग्नये स्विष्टकृते सुहुतहुते सर्वप्रायश्चित्ताहुतीनां कामानां  
समर्द्धयित्रे सर्वान्नः कामान्तसमर्द्धय स्वाहा । इदमग्नये  
स्विष्टकृते इदन्न मम ॥१३॥

### प्रजापत्याहुतिमन्त्रः

मन में बोलकर आहुति देवें ।

ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा । इदं प्रजापतये इदन्न मम ।

## प्रधान होम सम्बन्धी आज्याहुति मन्त्राः

ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः । अग्न आयुषि पवस आसुवो र्जमिषं  
 च नः । आरे वाधस्व दुच्छुनां स्वाहा । इदमग्नये पवमानाय  
 इदन्न मम ॥१॥ ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः । अग्नि ऋषिः पवमानः  
 पाञ्चजन्यः पुरोहितः । तमीमहे महागयं स्वाहा । इदमग्नये  
 पवमानाय—इदन्न मम ॥२॥ ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः । अग्ने पवस्व  
 स्वपा अस्मे वर्चः सुवीर्यम् । दधद्रयि मयि पोषं स्वाहा ।  
 इदमग्नये पवमानाय इदन्न मम ॥३॥ ओं प्रजापते नत्व-  
 देतान्यन्यो विश्वा जातानि परिता बभूव । यत्कामास्ते  
 जुहुमस्तन्नो अस्तु वयं स्याम पतयो रयीणां स्वाहा । इदं  
 प्रजापतये—इदन्न मम ।

## अष्टआज्याहुतिमन्त्राः

ओं त्वन्नो अग्ने वरुणस्य विद्वान् देवस्य हेडोऽवत्या-  
 सिसीष्ठाः । यजिष्ठो बह्वितमः शोशुचानो विश्वा द्वेषांसि  
 प्रमुमुग्ध्यस्मत् स्वाहा । इदमग्निवरुणाभ्याम्—इदन्न मम ॥१॥  
 ओं स त्वन्नोऽअग्नेऽवमो भवोती नेदिष्ठो अस्या  
 उपसो व्युष्टौ । अवयक्ष्व नो वरुणं रराणो वीहि मृडीकं  
 सुहवो न एधि स्वाहा । इदमग्निवरुणाभ्याम्—इदन्न मम ॥२॥  
 ओं इमं मे वरुण भुधी हवमघा च मृडय । त्वामव-

स्युराचके स्वाहा । इदं वरुणाय इदन्न मम ॥३॥ ओं तच्चा  
यामि ब्रह्मणा वन्दमानस्तदाशास्ते यजमानो हविर्भिः ।  
अहेडमानो वरुणेह वोध्युरुशसं मा न आयुः प्रमोषीः स्वाहा ।  
इदं वरुणाय—इदन्न मम ॥४॥ ओं ये ते शतं वरुण ये  
सहस्रं यज्ञियाः पाशा वितता महान्तः । तेभिर्नोऽद्य सवि-  
तोत विष्णुर्विश्वे मुञ्चन्त, मरुतः स्वर्काः स्वाहा । इदं वरुणाय  
सवित्रे विष्णवे विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यो मरुद्भ्यः स्वर्केभ्यः  
इदन्न मम ॥५॥ ओं अयाश्वाग्ने ऽस्यनभिश्चिस्ति पाश्च सत्य-  
मित्वमयासि । अया नो यज्ञं वहास्यया नो धेहि भेष  
जष्टं स्वाहा । इदमग्रये अयसे इदन्न मम ॥६॥ ओं उदुत्तमं  
वरुणपाशमस्मदवाधमं विमध्यमं श्रथाय । अथा वय-  
मादित्यव्रते तवानागसो अदितये स्याम स्वाहा । इदं  
वरुणायऽऽदित्यायाऽदितये च—इदन्न मम ॥७॥ ओं  
भवतन्नः समनसौ सचेतसावरेपसौ । मा यज्ञं हि ऽ  
सिष्टं मा यज्ञपतिं जातवेदसौ शिवौ भवतमद्य नः स्वाहा ।  
इदं जातवेदोभ्याम्—इदन्न मम ॥८॥

## दैनिक अग्निहोत्र

### प्रातःकाल के मन्त्र

सूर्यो ज्योति ज्योतिः सूर्यः स्वाहा ॥१॥ सूर्यो वचो

ज्योतिर्वर्चः स्वाहा ॥२॥ ज्योतिः सूर्यः स्या ज्योतिः  
स्वाहा ॥३॥ ओं सजूर्देवेन सवित्रा सजूरुषसेन्द्रवत्या  
जुषाणः सूर्यो वेतु स्वाहा ॥४॥

### सायंकाल के मन्त्र

ओं अग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहा ॥१॥ ओं अग्नि  
र्वर्चो ज्योतिर्वर्चः स्वाहाः ॥२॥ ओं अग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योति-  
रग्निः स्वाहा ॥३॥

इस तीसरे मन्त्र को मन से उच्चारण कर आहुति देवे ।

ओं सजूर्देवेन सवित्रा सजूरात्र्येन्द्रवत्या जुषाणो  
अग्निर्वेतु स्वाहा ॥४॥

### प्रातः सायं के मन्त्र

ओं भूरग्रये प्राणाय स्वाहा इदमग्रये प्राणाय इदन्न  
मम ॥१॥ ओं भुवर्वायवेऽपानाय स्वाहा । इदं वायवेऽपा-  
नाय इदन्न मम ॥२॥ स्वरादित्याय व्यानाय स्वाहा ।  
इदमादित्याय व्यानाय इदन्न मम ॥३॥ ओं भूर्भुवः स्व  
रग्निवाय्वादित्येभ्यः प्राणापानव्यानेभ्य व्यानेभ्य इदन्न  
मम ॥४॥ ओं आपो ज्योतीरसोऽमृतं ब्रह्म भूर्भुवः स्वरो  
स्वाहा ॥५॥ ओं यां मेधां देवगणाः पितरश्ची पासेत तथा  
मामद्य मेधयाग्ने मेधाविनं कुरु स्वाहा ॥६॥

ओं विश्वानि देव० और अग्ने नय सुपथा० इन दोनों  
मन्त्रों से एक २ आहुति देवे ।



( १४ )

## पूर्णाहुति मन्त्र

ओं सर्वं वै पूर्णं ॐ स्वाहा ॥१॥  
इस मन्त्र से तीन आहुतियां देवे ।

### शान्तिपाठ

ओं द्यौः शान्तिरन्तरिक्षं ॐ शान्तिः पृथिवी शान्ति-  
रापः शान्तिरोषधयः शान्तिः । वनस्पतयः शान्तिर्विश्वे  
देवाः शान्तिर्ब्रह्म शान्तिः सर्वं ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिरेव  
शान्तिः सा मा शान्तिः रेधि ॥१॥

“ओं शान्तिःशान्तिःशान्तिः” यह उच्चारण कर यज्ञसमाप्त  
करना चाहिये ।



## हमारी धर्मपुस्तक

१—ऋग्वेद यजुर्वेद सामवेद और अथर्ववेद हैं। संसार के आदि में परमपिता परमात्मा ने मनुष्यों के कल्याण और ज्ञान देने के लिये अग्नि वायु आदित्य तथा अङ्गिरा इन चार ऋषियों के हृदय में चारों वेदों का क्रमशः ज्ञान दिया। वेद में असत्य असम्भव और पुनरुक्ति आदि दोष नहीं हैं। पुराण कुरान बाईबिल आदि पुस्तकें मनुष्य कृत हैं। इनमें अधिकतर बातें भ्रममूलक हैं। अतः ये पुस्तकें वेद के समान मानने योग्य नहीं हैं।

२—वेद का ज्ञान ईश्वर ने दिया है। पुस्तकें मनुष्यों ने लिखी हैं। वेद सब सत्य विद्याओं की पुस्तक है। वेद में हमें परमात्मा ने धर्म का उपदेश दिया। वेद का प्रत्येक उपदेश हमें मानना चाहिये। प्रत्येक कल्प के आरम्भ में परमात्मा वेदों का ज्ञान देता है, क्योंकि वह अपनी प्रजा का सदा ही भला चाहता है। वेद पढ़ने का सबको अधिकार है।

३—मनुस्मृति आदि शास्त्रों की सारी बातें माननी चाहिये, परन्तु यदि कोई बात वेद विरुद्ध हो तो वह नहीं माननी चाहिये। वेद स्वतः प्रमाण हैं। अन्य ग्रन्थ परतः

प्रमाण हैं। वेद सबसे प्राचीन उत्तम और माननीय पुस्तक है। अग्नि आदि ऋषियों ने दूसरे मनुष्यों को वेदों का उपदेश किया, उन्होंने दूसरों को इस प्रकार गुरु शिष्य परम्परा से संसार में वेदों का प्रचार हुआ है।

४—लोग पुराण आदि को धर्म पुस्तक मानने लगे थे। वेदों का नाम भी नहीं जानते थे। महर्षि दयानन्द जी महाराज ने वेदों का सच्चा ज्ञान कराया। वेदों का पढ़ना पढ़ाना और सुनना सुनाना आर्यों का परम धर्म है। वेदों के प्रचारार्थ आर्य समाज की स्थापना की। वेदों का सरल हिन्दी में अत्युत्तम भाष्य किया। वेद सम्बन्धी आक्षेपों के निवारण के लिये “ऋग्वेदादिभाष्यभूमिका” आदि उत्तम २ पुस्तकें लिखीं। आर्य समाज के परिश्रम से साधारण जनता भी वेदों के सदुपदेशों से लाभ प्राप्त कर रही है।

## महर्षि दयानन्द ।

भारत के पश्चिम भाग में गुजरात काठियावाड़ एक प्रान्त है।

ग्राम—टंकारा ( मोरवी राज्य )

पिता का नाम—श्री पं० कृष्ण जी राज्य में आपका बहुत मान और प्रतिष्ठा थी।

माता का नाम—श्रीमती कौशल्या देवी

वर्ण—औदीच्य ब्राह्मण

कार्य—तहसीलदारी

उपासक—शिवजी के

मत—शैव

जन्म सङ्घत्—१८८१ विक्रमी

नाम—मूलशङ्कर, मूल की बुद्धि बचपन से ही तीव्र थी ।

अक्षराभ्यास—पांचवें वर्ष में, आर्यभाषा का कराया गया ।

शिक्षा—कुलधर्म और रीति के अनुसार पूजा पाठ सिखाया गया ।

कण्ठस्थः—मन्त्र और श्लोकादि कराये ।

अष्टम वर्ष—में यज्ञोपवीत हुआ और सन्ध्या की विधि बतलायी गयी ।

## शिवरात्रि का व्रत

मूल ने चौदह वर्ष की आयु में सम्पूर्ण यजुर्वेद कण्ठस्थ कर लिया था । इस बार पिता जी ने मूल को व्रत रखने की आज्ञा दी और कहा कि उपवास रखो, रात को जागकर

महादेव की पूजा करो । माता ने मना किया कि बालक छोटा है भूखा न रह सकेगा ।

पिता जी ने शिवपुराण की कथा सुनाई । व्रत के ये लाभ बताये । शिव जी दुष्टों का नाश करता है । भक्तों की इच्छा पूर्ण होती है । लोक परलोक में सुख प्राप्त होता है । सायंकाल को मूल पिता जी के साथ मन्दिर में गया । पूजा प्रारम्भ करदी । सब लोग सो गये, पर मूल जागता ही रहा कि कहीं सो जाने से व्रत निष्फल न हो जाये ।

## विचित्रघटना

एक चूहा बिल से निकल कर शिव की मूर्ति पर कूदने लगा । मिष्टान्न को खाने लगा और पुष्पादि को भ्रष्ट करने लगा । यह देख मूल के मन में सन्देह हुआ कि यह तो क्षुद्र चूहे से भी अपनी रक्षा नहीं कर सकता है ? भक्तों की क्या सहायता करेगा । इसका त्रिशूल कहाँ है । इसकी पूजा करने से क्या लाभ है ? क्या यही कैलाश-वासी शिव है ।

पिता जी को जगाकर सब वृत्तान्त निवेदन किया । उन्होंने कहा बेटा ? व्यर्थ शंका मत करो । कलियुग में शिवजी के साक्षात् दर्शन नहीं होते हैं । अतः मूर्ति

बनाकर पूजते हैं । इसी से शम्भु प्रसन्न होकर भक्तों की कामना पूर्ण करता है । परन्तु मूल को इन बातों से सन्तोष न हुआ । मन में प्रतिज्ञा की कि सच्चे शिव को प्राप्त कर उसी की उपासना करूंगा । घर आकर भोजन कर लिया, और सो गये ।

इसी घटना को “ऋषि बोध उत्सव” कहते हैं । क्योंकि इसी दिन बालक मूलशङ्कर को सच्चे शिव जी का ज्ञान हुआ था । आर्यजनता आर्यसमाज मन्दिरों में विशेष उत्सव मनाती है ।

## गृहत्याग

दो वर्ष के पश्चात् मूल की छोटी बहिन की हैजे से मृत्यु हो गयी । परिवार में हाहाकार मच गया । सारे लोग रो रहे थे, परन्तु मूल की आंखों से एक भी अश्रु न गिरा । मृत्यु का दृश्य देख मूल का मन अशान्त हो गया । तीन वर्ष न बीते थे कि अतिसेही चचा का स्वर्ग-वास होगया, मूल फूट २ कर रोने लगा । मन में विचारा कि सभी जीव इसी प्रकार मरते हैं । एक दिन मैं भी मृत्यु का ग्रास बनूंगा । मृत्यु के महारोग की महौषधि ढूँढनी चाहिये ।

पिता जी ने विवाह के बन्धन में फंसाना चाहा । घर से भाग कर इससे भी छुटकारा पाया । योगाभ्यास से मुक्ति प्राप्त होती है । अतः योगियों की खोज करते हुए सिद्धपुर के मेले में पहुंचे । पिता जी को पता चला । वे वहीं पहुंचे । मूल को पकड़ लिया । सिपाहियों को आज्ञा दी कि इस निर्मोही पर दिन रात पहरा रखो । मूल अवसर पाकर वहां से भाग गया ।

मूलशंकर ने अनेक स्थानों में जाकर योगियों से योगविद्या सीखी । व्याकरण के अनेक ग्रन्थ पढ़े । चौबीस वर्ष की आयु में मूल ने श्री १०८ स्वामी पूर्णानन्द जी सरस्वती से संन्यास ग्रहण किया । उन्होंने अपने शिष्य का नाम दयानन्द सरस्वती रखा ।

### विद्यार्थीजीवन ।

श्री स्वामी जी ने ब्रह्मचर्य और तपस्या से शरार का अति बलवान् बना लिया था । परन्तु अभी मन को शान्ति न हुई । सब्बे महादेव को नहीं पाया था । अतः पूर्ण-विद्वान् बनने की इच्छा से मथुरा में प्रज्ञाचक्षु परमहंस श्री स्वामी विरजानन्द जी की सेवा में पहुंचे । आप के पिता कर्तारपुर (जि० जालन्धर) निवासी श्री पं० नारायण-दत्त जी थे । विरजानन्द जी व्याकरणादि शास्त्रों के

प्रकाण्ड पण्डित थे । वेदादि सत्शास्त्रों पर परम श्रद्धा रखते थे । गायत्री मन्त्र का नियमपूर्वक जप करने से आपकी बुद्धि और प्रतिभा बहुत बढ़ गई थी । आपका देहान्त ९१ वर्ष की आयु में हुआ था ।

स्वामी जी ने दयानन्द से व्याकरण के कतिपय प्रश्न पूछे । ठीक उत्तर मिलने पर कहा कि मैं तुम्हें आर्ष ग्रन्थ ही पढ़ाऊंगा ' क्योंकि ऋषि शैली अत्युत्तम है । जो कुछ पढ़ा है उसे भुला दो । पुस्तकों को यमुना में बहा दो । स्वामी जी ने सहर्ष इस आज्ञा का पालन किया । गुरु जी की कुटिया में झाड़ू लगाते । यमुना से जल लाकर गुरु जी को स्नान कराते । आपका विद्यार्थीजीवन तपस्या का था । ढाई वर्ष में ही व्याकरण के अष्टाध्यायी महाभाष्य आदि ग्रन्थ पढ़ लिये । वेदादि आर्षशास्त्रों का पाठ किया और विद्याध्ययन समाप्त किया ।

## गुरुदक्षिणा

स्वामी जी गुरु जी की सेवा में कुछ लौंग भेंट लेकर उपस्थित हुए । सादर प्रणाम कर निवेदन किया कि आप ने मुझे विद्यामृत पान करा अनुगृहीत किया है । एतदर्थ मैं आपका हार्दिक धन्यवाद करता हूँ । श्री विरजानन्द



जी ने प्रिय शिष्य के श्रद्धा और भक्तिपूर्ण बचन सुनकर कहा कि मैं तुमसे अतिप्रसन्न हूँ । परन्तु मैं कुछ और ही गुरुदक्षिणा चाहता हूँ ।

दयानन्द ! भारत में अज्ञान और अन्धकार फैला हुआ है । लोग वेदों को भूल गये हैं । मत मतान्तरों के कारण कुरीतियाँ प्रचलित हो रही हैं । दीन हीन जन दुःख पा रहे हैं । जाओ आर्यसन्तान की बिगड़ी दशा को सुधारो । वेद का पवित्र सन्देश सब को सुनाओ । पाखण्ड खण्डन कर वैदिकधर्म का प्रचार करो । यही मेरी आन्तरिक इच्छा है । दयानन्द ! ईश्वर तुम्हें सफलता प्रदान करे । स्वामी जी ने गुरु जी की आज्ञा को सहर्ष स्वीकार किया । और प्रणाम कर वहाँ से विदा हुए ।

### प्रचारकार्य

स्वामी जी चार वर्ष तक आगरा ग्वालियर पुष्कर आदि स्थानों में प्रचार करते रहे । पुराणों का खूब खण्डन किया, लोगों को वेद पढ़ने की ओर प्रेरित किया ।

संवत् १९२३ विक्रमी में अजमेर में पादरियों से शास्त्रार्थ किया । पादरी निरुत्तर हो गये । स्वामी जी के आक्षेपों से चिढ़ कर कहा कि ऐसी बातों से आप कभी कैद हो

जायंगे । आपने मुस्कराते हुए उत्तर दिया “सत्य के लिये कैद होना कोई लज्जा की बात नहीं” । कर्नल ब्रुक से गौरक्षा पर वर्तालाप किया ।

### कुम्भ का मेला

सं० ११२४ विक्रमी में हरिद्वार के कुम्भ पर “पाखण्ड खण्डिनी पताका” गाढ़कर मूर्तिपूजा आदि मिथ्या विचारों और मतमतान्तरों का खण्डन किया । जनता को उपदेश दिया कि गङ्गा में डुबकी लगाने से मुक्ति नहीं होती है । अच्छे कर्म करो । वेद की शिक्षा पर चलो । इसी से कल्याण होगा । महाराज कुम्भ पर भारत की अधोगति का दृश्य देख अतिदुःखित हुए । लंगोट के सिवाय सब कुछ त्याग दिया और गंगा तट पर प्रचार करने लगे ।

### काशीशास्त्रार्थ

स्वामी जी ने पण्डितों से अनेक शास्त्रार्थ किये । परन्तु अन्त को सभी परास्त हो गये । सं० १९२६ में काशीनरेश के सभापतित्व में काशी के पण्डितों से मूर्तिपूजा, मृतकभ्रातृ, अवतार, पुराण आदि विषयों पर शास्त्रार्थ हुआ । यहाँ के पण्डित भी मूर्तिपूजा को वेदानु-

कूल सिद्ध न कर सके। इस विजय से स्वामी जी की विद्वत्ता भारत के कोने २ में प्रसिद्ध हो गयी।

### आर्यसमाज की स्थापना।

प्रयाग कलकत्ता कानपुर फरुखाबाद मेरठ आदि स्थानों पर वैदिक धर्म का प्रचार करते हुए महाराज बम्बई में पधारे। यहां नारायणस्वामीमत, रामानुजमत, ब्राह्म-समाज आदि मतों की खूब समालोचना की। प्रसिद्ध पण्डितों को शास्त्रार्थ में पराजित किया। पहली आर्य-समाज की स्थापना की। नियम निर्धारित हुए।

पूना में १५ व्याख्यान दिये। चालीस पण्डितों को शास्त्रार्थ में पराजित किया। दिल्लीद्वार के अवसर पर वैदिकधर्म का प्रचार किया। चांदापुर में ईसाई और मुसलमानों के प्रतिनिधियों से शास्त्रार्थ किया। स्वामी जी ने अकाद्य युक्तियों से वैदिकधर्म की महत्ता सिद्ध की।

स्वामी जी मूर्तिपूजा, वाममार्ग वैष्णवमत, अवतार मृतकश्राद्ध, कण्ठी तिलक छाप माला पुराण उपपुराण गङ्गास्नान से मुक्ति समझना आदि वेदविरुद्ध विचारों का खूब खण्डन किया करते थे।

### पंजाब में प्रचार

लखनऊ मुरादाबाद सहारनपुर लुधियाना आदि

नगरों में प्रचार कर स्वामी जी लाहौर पधारे । यहाँ पर आपके उपदेश और व्याख्यानों से धूम मचगयी । लाहौर आर्यसमाज की स्थापना की गयी । बम्बई में बने आर्य समाज के नियमों का संशोधन कर १० नियम निश्चित किये । आर्यभाषा का सीखना प्रत्येक आर्यसभासद के लिये अनिवार्य बतलाया । आर्यसमाज से पूर्व पंजाब में हिन्दीभाषा का प्रचार बहुत कम था । आज स्थान २ पर आर्यस्कूलों के खुलने से आर्यभाषा के प्रचार में बहुत सहायता मिली है । डी. ए. वी. कालिज लाहौर की स्थापना ता० १ जून सन् १८८६ ई० में हुई । ऋषि दयानन्द राष्ट्रभाषा के प्रबल पोषक थे । आर्यभाषा को ही राष्ट्रभाषा होने योग्य मानते थे । स्वामी जी ने अपनी सब पुस्तकें भाषा में ही लिखी हैं ।

अमृतसर, जालन्धर, मुलतान आदि पंजाब के प्रसिद्ध नगरों में प्रचार किया । आर्यसमाजें स्थापित की और शास्त्रार्थ किये ।

### राजपूताना में प्रचार

पंजाब से लौट कर स्वामी जी संयुक्तप्रान्त के प्रसिद्ध नगरों में धूमधाम से प्रचार करते रहे । सं० १९३४

विक्रमी में राजपूताने का दौरा किया। अजमेर जयपुर और भरतपुर में प्रचार कर उदयपुर पधारे। स्वर्गीय महाराणा सज्जनसिंह जी को धर्म और नीति के ग्रन्थ पढ़ाते रहे। जनता को उपदेश देते रहे। परोपकारिणी सभा की स्थापना की। अपनी सब सम्पत्ति सभा को सौंप दी। यहां से शाहपुरा पधारे। शाहपुरानरेश श्री नाहरसिंह जी को आर्यधर्म का उपदेश दिया। आपको एक खहर का अङ्गरखा भी बनवाकर दिया था। जोधपुर जाते समय आर्य लोगों ने कहा कि जोधपुर के लोग कठोर प्रकृति के हैं। कहीं सत्योपदेश से चिढ़कर आपको पीड़ा न पहुंचावें। स्वामी जी ने उत्तर दिया कि “चाहे लोग मेरी अंगुलियों की बत्तियां बनाकर जला दें तो भी कोई चिन्ता नहीं”। मैं तो वहां जाकर अवश्य सत्योपदेश करूंगा।

### मृत्यु:

श्री स्वामी जी ने जोधपुर में चार मास तक प्रचार किया। जोधपुर नरेश के महल में एक वेदया रहती थी। स्वामी जी के उपदेशों से महाराज का मन वेदया से हट गया। इस से चिढ़ कर वेदया ने जगन्नाथ रसोइये को

बहकाया । जगन्नाथ ने स्वामी जी को दुग्ध मे विष मिला कर दे दिया । स्वामी जी ने जगन्नाथ को बुला कर कहा कि तुमने मेरे कार्य को बहुत धक्का पहुंचाया है । मैं तुम्हें हानि पहुंचाना नहीं चाहता । पास से १५ रु० देकर क्षमा कर दिया, और कहा कि शीघ्र नैपाल भाग जाओ ।

स्वामी जी को इलाज के लिये आबू लाया गया । पर कुछ लाभ न हुआ । शरीर दिन प्रतिदिन दुर्बल होता गया । अन्त को अजमेर में कार्तिक कृष्णा अमावस्या सं० १९४० तदनुसार ३० अक्टूबर सन् १८८३ ईस्वी को दीपमालिका के दिन “ईश्वर तेरी इच्छा पूर्ण हो” कहते हुए परम पिता की गोद में लीन हो गये ।

### महर्षि के जीवन से शिक्षाएं

श्री स्वामी दयानन्द जी का जीवन आदर्श था । जिससे अनेक उत्तम शिक्षाएं प्राप्त होती हैं । जिनके आचरण से हमारा जीवन महान् बन सकता है ।

(१) ईश्वरविश्वास—स्वामी जी ईश्वर के पूर्ण भक्त थे । एक दिन उदयपुरनरेश ने कहा कि यदि आप मूर्ति-पूजा का खण्डन करना छोड़ दें, तो मन्दिर की सम्पूर्ण

सम्पत्ति और गद्दी के महन्त हो जायेंगे । आप राज्यगुरु बन कर प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त करेंगे ।

स्वामी जी ने झुंझला कर उत्तर दिया कि “मैं लोभ में आकर ईश्वर की आज्ञा भङ्ग नहीं करूंगा । छोटे से राज्य और मन्दिर से तो मैं एक दौड़ लगाकर बाहिर जा सकता हूँ । परन्तु परमेश्वर के महान् राज्य से निकल कर कहीं नहीं जा सकता । ईश्वर के आतिरिक्त मैं किसी और पदार्थ की पूजा नहीं करूंगा ।

(२) सत्यभाषण—बंरली में स्वामी जी ने ईसाई मत की तीव्र आलोचना की । भक्तों ने आप से निवेदन किया कि महाराज ! तीव्र खण्डन न कीजिये । इससे राजकर्मचारी असन्तुष्ट होते हैं । दूसरे दिन व्याख्यान में नगर के प्रतिष्ठित पुरुष और राजकर्मचारी भी उपस्थित थे । महर्षि ने कड़क कर कहा लोग कहते हैं कि “असत्य का खण्डन न कीजिये, इससे कमिश्नर अप्रसन्न होगा, कलेक्टर नाराज होगा, परन्तु चाहे चक्रवर्ती राजा भी अप्रसन्न क्यों न हो जाये मैं तो सत्य ही कहूंगा ।”

(३) दयालुता—स्वामी जी दया के सागर थे । धर्मप्रचार से चिढ़कर लोग आप पर ईंट पत्थर आदि फेंकते थे । परन्तु आप उन्हें पुष्पवर्षा कहा करते थे ।

अनूपशहर में एक ब्राह्मण ने आपको पान में विष मिलाकर दे दिया । रस चूसते ही विष का पता लग गया । किन्तु आप ने उसे कुछ नहीं कहा । गङ्गा पर जाकर योग की वस्ती और न्योली क्रिया द्वारा ज़हर को बाहिर निकाल दिया । यह सब भेद स्वामी जी के भक्त सय्यद मुहम्मद तहसीलदार को ज्ञात हो गया । उसने ब्राह्मण को कैद कर दिया । मन में विचारा कि आज महाराज मुझ पर अति प्रसन्न होंगे, क्योंकि मैंने उनके विषदाता को पकड़ा है । परन्तु आप तहसीलदार के आने पर बोले भी नहीं । अप्रसन्नता का कारण पूछने पर स्वामी जी ने कहा कि मैंने सुना है कि आज तुमने मेरे लिये एक मनुष्य को कैद किया है । मैं मनुष्यों को बन्धन में डालने नहीं आया किन्तु कैद से छुड़ाने आया हूँ । यह सुन तहसीलदार हैरान हुआ और ब्राह्मण को जाकर छोड़ दिया ।

(४) निर्भयता—कर्णवास में गङ्गास्नान के अवसर पर स्वामी जी ने मूर्तिपूजा तिलक कण्ठी छाप आदि असत्य विचारों का तीव्र खण्डन किया । इससे चिढ़ कर राव कर्णसिंह ने आप पर तलवार का वार किया । स्वामी जी ने झपट कर तलवार छीन ली, और भूमि पर टेक कर उसके दो टुकड़े कर दिये फिर राव महाशय से कहा



कि यदि शास्त्रार्थ करना चाहते हो तो अपने गुरु जी को बुला लाओ, हम तय्यार हैं । शस्त्रार्थ करना है तो जयपुर जोधपुर से जाकर भिड़ो । संन्यासियों से क्यों टकराते हो ।

(५) ब्रह्मचर्य्य—रावलपिण्डी में सरदार विक्रमसिंह जी ने कहा सुनते हैं कि ब्रह्मचर्य्य के पालन से मनुष्य महाबली हो जाता है, क्या यह सत्य है ? स्वामी जी ने उत्तर दिया कि ब्रह्मचर्य्य की जो महिमा शास्त्रों में वर्णित हैं वह सर्वथा सत्य है । तब सरदार साहिब ने कहा कि आप भी ब्रह्मचारी हैं । परन्तु आप में तो हमें विशेषबल मालूम नहीं होता । स्वामी जी ने उस समय कुछ उत्तर न दिया, किन्तु सरदार साहिब के जाते समय गाड़ी को पीछे से पकड़ लिया । बहुत यत्न करने पर भी घोड़े गाड़ी को न खींच सके । सरदार महाशय ने पीछे की ओर देखा तो स्वामी जी ने गाड़ी को छोड़ दिया । सरदार साहिब नीचे उतर स्वामी जी के चरणों में गिर पड़े और, कहा कि सचमुच आप अतिबलवान् तथा पूर्णब्रह्मचारी हैं ।

(६) स्वदेशभक्ति—स्वामी जी सब्बे देशहितैषी थे, एक धर्म, एक सभ्यता, एक भाषा, एक वेष, एकता और मुफ्त शिक्षा को उन्नति का सर्वोत्तम साधन मानते थे ।

आपने सत्यार्थप्रकाश आदि पुस्तकों में स्वराज्यप्राप्ति के अत्युत्तम उपाय लिखे हैं। आप लिखते हैं कि चाहे विदेशी राज्य कितना ही अच्छा होवे, परन्तु वह स्वदेशी राज्य से कदापि उत्तम नहीं हो सकता है। भारतीय रीति नीति और पद्धति से ही देश स्वाधीन तथा उन्नत हो सकता है। आर्यावर्त को धर्म और सभ्यता का जन्मदाता मानते थे। आप स्वदेशी वस्त्रों और वस्तुओं को ही उत्तम समझते थे।

एक दिन ठाकुर ऊधोसिंह अपने पिता ठा० भूपालसिंह जी के साथ स्वामी जी के दर्शन करने के लिये फरुखाबाद पधारे। ऊधोसिंह के सब वस्त्र विदेशी और नये फैशन के बने हुए थे। स्वामी जी ने अति प्रेम से कहा “ऊधो देखो तुम्हारे पिता कैसे मोटे सादे और स्वदेशी वस्त्र धारण किये हुए हैं। बिरादरी में भी उनका अति सम्मान है। विदेशी वस्त्र धारण करने से तुम्हारा अपने पिता जी की अपेक्षा अधिक आदर नहीं हो सकता है। स्वदेशी वस्त्र धारण करना ही उत्तम है। आपके उपदेश का ऊधोसिंह पर अति प्रभाव

पढ़ा। उसने घर जाकर विदेशी वस्त्र उतार दिये, और स्वदेशी वस्त्र पहिन लिये।

इसी प्रकार विद्या, धर्म प्रेम, साहस, सदाचार, दृढता, और गुरुभक्ति आदि शिक्षाएं प्राप्त होती हैं।

### महर्षि के महान् उपकार

आदित्यब्रह्मचारी, विश्वहितकारी परमहंस परिव्राजकाचार्य श्री १०८ महर्षि दयानन्द जी महाराज ने आर्यजाति पर निम्नलिखित विशेष उपकार किये हैं।

(१) एक ईश्वर की पूजा—आर्यसमाज से पूर्व देश में देवी देवताओं की पूजा होती थी। लोग ईश्वर को भूल चुके थे। स्वामी जी ने बताया कि ईश्वर नृष्टिकर्ता धर्ता और संहर्ता है। वही पूजनीय और उपास्यदेव है। उसकी कोई मूर्ति नहीं होती है, वह परव्रज और सर्वव्यापक है। मूर्तिपूजा से ईश्वर प्राप्त नहीं होता है। परमात्मा श्री राम और श्री कृष्ण आदि ही अवतार (शरीर) धारण नहीं करता है। क्योंकि वह निराकार निर्विकार और सर्वशक्तिमान् है।

(२) वैदिकधर्म प्रचार—मत मतान्तरों के कारण

देश में अशान्ति फैली हुई थी। आर्यधर्म आयु, विचार, और आदर्श की दृष्टि से सब से उत्तम, है। इस के सिद्धान्त वेदानुकूल हैं। इसका उद्देश्य संसार का कल्याण करना है। इसके नियम प्रत्येक देश और जाति के लिये लाभप्रद हैं। यही सार्वभौम धर्म होने योग्य है। इसी धर्म के पालन करने से संसार में सुख और शान्ति फैल सकती है।

(३) ब्रह्मचर्य—बाल विवाह के कारण भारत सन्तान निर्बल निस्तेज और अल्पायु हो रही थी। लड़कों का २५ और लड़कियों का १६ वर्ष से पूर्व विवाह नहीं करना चाहिये। जिससे कि शरीर का प्रत्येक अङ्ग दृष्ट पुष्ट और पूर्ण हो सके। ब्रह्मचर्य के पालन करने से मनुष्य विद्वान् बलवान् और दीर्घायु होता है। लड़कों के समान कन्याओं को भी ब्रह्मचर्य धारण करना चाहिये।

(४) वैदिक वर्णव्यवस्था—ब्राह्मणादि वर्ण गुण कर्म स्वभाव के अनुसार मानने चाहिये। प्राचीन काल में मनुष्य उत्तम कर्मों से ब्राह्मणादि उत्तम वर्ण, और नीच कर्मों से शूद्रादि नीच वर्णों को प्राप्त होते थे। जैसे महर्षि विश्वामित्र जी क्षत्रिय से ब्राह्मण और मातङ्ग ऋषि चाण्डाल से ब्राह्मण हो गये थे। जात पात के निर्मूल

विचारों और विरादरी के बन्धन ने आर्यजाति के सङ्गठन को नष्ट कर दिया है । जन्म से मनुष्य मात्र समान है ।

(५) शुद्धि—कोई हिन्दु ईसाई मुसलमानादि होने पर हिन्दु धर्म में पुनः प्रविष्ट नहीं हो सकता था । जन्म के मुसलमानादि और हिन्दु धर्म से पतित मनुष्यों को शास्त्र रीति से शुद्ध कर आर्यधर्म में प्रविष्ट कर लेना चाहिये । शुद्ध व्यक्ति के साथ आर्यों के समान खान पान आदि व्यवहार करने चाहिये । शुद्धि आर्यजाति के लिये सञ्जीवनी बूटी है । शुद्धि के न होने से हिन्दुओं की संख्या प्रतिदिन घटती जाती थी । स्वामी जी ने जन्म के एक मुसलमान को शुद्ध कर अलखधारी नाम रखा था । आर्यसमाज के यत्न से लाखों मनुष्य हिन्दुओं में सम्मिलित हो गये हैं ।

(६) अछूतोद्धार—शिखासूत्रधारी होने पर भी सात करोड़ मनुष्य आर्यजाति में अछूत समझे जाते हैं । जिन्हें हिन्दू नीच तथा अस्पृश्य मानते हैं । स्वामी जी छुआछूत का घोर विरोध किया करते थे । इनके साथ हमें प्रेम का वर्ताव करना चाहिये । ये भी जाति के आवश्यक अङ्ग हैं । इन्हें भी हिन्दुओं के समान अधिकार होने

चाहिये । आर्यसमाज ने इन्हें शिक्षित और सभ्य बनाने का बहुत यत्न किया है ।

### ऋषि दयानन्द जी की कृत पुस्तकें

ऋग्वेदादिभाष्यभूमिका, ऋग्वेद भाष्य, यजुर्वेद भाष्य, सत्यार्थप्रकाश, संस्कार विधि, पञ्चमहायज्ञ विधि, आर्याभिविनय, आर्योद्देशरत्नमाला, गोकर्णानिधि, व्यवहार भानु आदि आर्यसिद्धान्त पोषक पुस्तकें रची हैं । इनका स्वाध्याय करने से वैदिकधर्म का वास्तविक ज्ञान तथा मिथ्या मत-मतान्तर्गों की पोल का पूर्ण ज्ञान होता है ।

### आर्यसमाज का कार्य

देश और जाति की उन्नति तथा वैदिक धर्म के पुनरुद्धारार्थ श्री १०८ स्वामी दयानन्द जी महाराज ने चैत्र सुदि ५ सं० १९३२ विक्रमी तदनुसार ता० १० एप्रिल सन् १८७१ ई० शनिवार को बम्बई नगर में आर्यसमाज की स्थापना की थी ।

आर्यसमाज ने मूर्तिपूजा मृतकश्राद्ध बालविवाह छुआ छूत गङ्गास्नान से मुक्ति समझना आदि असत्य विचारों और कुरीतियों का खण्डन किया है । देश में एक ईश्वर की पूजा, वैदिकधर्मप्रचार, ब्रह्मचर्य, स्त्री शिक्षा अनाथरक्षा, गौरक्षा, विधवा विवाह, शुद्धि, संगठन, स्वदेश-

भक्ति, संस्कृत और हिन्दी भाषा का प्रचार, इत्यादि अत्युत्तम शिक्षाओं का प्रचार किया ।

गुरुकुल स्कूल कालिज औषधालय पुस्तकालय अनाथालय कन्या पाठशाला गोशाला विधवाआश्रम दलितोद्धारसभा शुद्धिसभा हिन्दीप्रचारिणीसभा आदि संस्थाएँ खोलकर भारतवर्ष को महान् लाभ पहुँचाया है । काँगडा के भूकम्प विहार उड़ीसा मध्यप्रदेश गढ़वाल के अकाल और मालावार के मोपला काण्ड से पीड़ित जनों की सहायता कर देश की खूब सेवा की है । प्रत्येक मनुष्य को आर्यसमाज के कार्य में भाग लेना चाहिये । जिससे कि सच्चे धर्म का प्रचार हो सके ।

### आर्यसमाज के सिद्धान्त

वेद की प्रत्येक बात आर्यसमाज का सिद्धान्त है । परन्तु यहाँ पर केवल बालकोपयोगी विषयों का ही उल्लेख करते हैं, ताकि वे भी आर्यसमाज के सिद्धान्तों को ज्ञात कर लाभ उठा सकें ।

१ अनादिपदार्थ—ईश्वर, जीव, और प्रकृति तीन हैं ।

२ ईश्वर—जिसके गुण कर्म स्वभाव और स्वरूप सत्य ही हैं, जो केवल चेतनमात्र वस्तु है, जो अद्वितीय सर्वशक्तिमान् निराकार सर्वव्यापक अनादि और अनन्त

आदि सत्य गुणों वाला है, जिस का स्वभाव अविनाशी ज्ञानी आनन्दी शुद्ध न्यायकारी दयालु और अजन्मादि है, जिस का कर्म जगत् की उत्पात्ति पालन और विनाश करना तथा सर्व जीवों के पाप पुण्य का फल ठीक २ देना है, उस को ईश्वर कहते हैं ।

३ वेद—जो ईश्वरोक्त सत्य विद्याओं से युक्त ऋक् यजुः साम और अथर्व ये चार पुस्तक हैं । जिन से मनुष्यों को सत्यासत्य का ज्ञान होता है, उनको वेद कहते हैं ।

४ धर्म—जिस का स्वरूप ईश्वर की आज्ञा का यथावत् पालन और पक्षपात रहित न्याय सर्वहित करना है, जो प्रत्यक्षादि प्रमाणों से सुपरीक्षित और वेदोक्त होने से सब मनुष्यों के लिये मानने योग्य है, उस को धर्म कहते हैं ।

५ मुक्ति—तीनों प्रकार के दुःखों से छूट कर बन्धन रहित होना कहाती है । दुःखों में ग्रस्त होना “बन्धन” है । मुक्ति ( मोक्ष ) के साधन ईश्वरोपासना योगाभ्यास, धर्माचरण विद्याप्रप्ति ब्रह्मचर्यसेवन और सत्संग आदि हैं, गङ्गास्नानादि नहीं ।

६ आवागमन—कर्मफलानुसार जीव के एक शरीर



को छोड़ कर दूसरे में जन्म लेना आवागमन है। पूर्वजन्म और पुनर्जन्म दोनों ही मानने चाहिये।

७ कर्मव्यवस्था—कर्मों का फल अवश्य मिलता है। शुभ और अशुभ कर्मों से क्रमशः सुख और दुःख मिलते हैं।

८ वर्णव्यवस्था—गुण कर्म स्वभावानुसार होती हैं, जन्म से नहीं।

९ आश्रम—ब्रह्मचर्य, गृहस्थ, वानप्रस्थ और संन्यास चार हैं।

१० संस्कार—उस को कहते जिस से शरीर, मन और आत्मा उत्तम हों। संस्कार १६ हैं। द्विजों को यज्ञोपवीत और आर्यमात्र को शिखा धारण करनी चाहिये। यज्ञोपवीत आर्यों का धार्मिक और कर्तव्यचिन्ह है, इस के धारण न करने पर मनुष्य वैदिक कर्म करने का अधिकारी नहीं होता है। मृतक श्राद्ध नहीं करना चाहिये।

११ यज्ञ—ब्रह्मयज्ञ देवयज्ञ पितृयज्ञ भूतयज्ञ और अतिथियज्ञ ये पांच महायज्ञ हैं। पर्व और विशेष अवसरों पर घृह्य यज्ञ करना चाहिये। स्त्रियों को भी यज्ञ करने का अधिकार है।

१२ शुद्धि अलूतोज्जार में सब को हिस्सा लेना चाहिये ।

१३ भोजन—बुद्धिबर्धक और बलकारक खाना चाहिये । मांस मदिरा तम्बाकू सिगरेट आदि अभक्ष्य पदार्थों का सेवन नहीं करना चाहिये । इन से बल वीर्य का नाश और बुद्धि भ्रष्ट होती है ।

१४—विद्वान् “देव” अविद्वान् “असुर” पापी “राक्षस” और अनाचारी पिशाच होते हैं ।

१५ देवपूजा—विद्वानों, माता, पिता, आचार्य, अतिथि, न्यायकारी राजा, धर्मात्मा जन, पतिव्रता स्त्री और स्त्रीव्रत पुरुष का सत्कार करना देवपूजा कहलाती है । इनके विपरीत पुरुष स्त्री अथवा पाषाणादि जड़ मूर्तियां सर्वथा अपूज्य हैं ।

१६ पुराण—ब्रह्मादि के बनाये ऐतरेयादि ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थ पुराण इतिहास कल्प गाथा और नाराशंसी कहलाते हैं । भागवत आदि पुराण नहीं है ।

१७ तीर्थ—जिससे दुःखसागर से पार उतरें । सत्यभाषण विद्या सत्संग योगाभ्यास और दानादि शुभ कर्म तीर्थ हैं । इतर जलस्थलादि नहीं ।

१८ आर्य—जो श्रेष्ठ स्वभाव धार्मिक परोपकारी सत्य विद्यादि गुणयुक्त, अथवा आर्यावर्त देश में सब दिन से रहने वालों को भी आर्य कहते हैं ।

१९ उपवेद—जो आयुर्वेद वैद्यकशास्त्र, जो धनुर्वेद शस्त्रास्त्रविद्या राजधर्म, जो गन्धर्ववेद गानशास्त्र, और अथर्ववेद जो शिल्प शास्त्र हैं । ये चार उपवेद हैं ।

२० वेदाङ्ग—शिक्षा कल्प निरुक्त व्याकरण छन्द और ज्योतिष आर्ष ग्रन्थ सनातनशास्त्र हैं । इनको वेदाङ्ग कहते हैं ।

२१ उपाङ्ग—षड् दर्शन—ऋषि मुनि कृत मीमांसा वैशेषिक न्याय योग सांख्य और वेदान्त छः शास्त्र हैं ।

२२ उपनिषद्—ईश, केन, कठ, प्रश्न मुण्डक माण्डूक्य ऐतरेय, तैत्तिरेय छान्दोग्य, बृहदारण्यक तथा श्वेताश्वतर ११ प्रामाणिक उपनिषद् हैं ।

२३ स्वर्ग नरक—सुख दुःख विशेष को कहते हैं । कोई स्थान विशेष नहीं ।

२४ नमस्ते—मैं आपका सम्मान तथा आदर करता हूँ ।

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## भजन संग्रहः

### भजन सं०—१

हे दयामय हे कृपालो सब के दाता आप हैं ।  
चांद सूरज मेघ के जीवन के दाता आप हैं ॥१॥  
चांद सूरज चलते २ हैं नियम में आप के ।  
सबसे बढ़ कर सबसे उत्तम सबकी माता आप हैं ॥२॥  
दुःखविनाशक दीनबन्धु दुःख हमारे सब हरो ।  
सबके बन्धु सबके ग्रीतम सबके भ्राता आप हैं ॥३॥  
सर्व स्वामी सर्व रक्षक ज्ञान के भण्डार तुम ।  
ज्ञान का प्रकाश दीजो सर्व ज्ञाता आप हैं ॥४॥  
है विनय इस दीन की स्वामी जगत् के आप से ।  
धर्म की नैय्या तरादो सर्वत्राता आप हैं ॥५॥

### भजन सं०—२

हम बालकों की ओर भी भगवान् तेरा ध्यान हो ।  
हो दूर सारी मूर्खता कल्याणकारी ज्ञान हो ॥१॥  
हम ब्रह्मचारी, वीर, व्रतधारी, सदाचारी बनें ।  
हम को हमारे देश भारत पर सदा अभिमान हो ॥२॥  
होकर बड़े कुछ कर दिखाने के लिये तय्यार हों ।  
दिल में हमारे देश सेवा का भरा अरमान हो ॥३॥  
हो नौजवानों की कभी जब मांग प्यारे देश को ।

मातृवेदि पर प्रथम रक्खा हमारा प्राण हो ॥४॥  
संसार का सिरमौर होकर देश हमसे कह सके ।  
हे वीर बालक ! धन्य तुम मेरी असल सन्तान हो ॥५॥

### भजन सं०—३

हे प्रभो ! हम बालकों की प्रार्थना सुन लीजिये ।  
कर कृपा अब शीघ्र हमको शुद्धि बुद्धि दीजिये ॥१॥  
मात, पितु गुरुभक्त हों हम नित सदाचारी बनें ।  
विज्ञ हों गुणवान् हों सद्ज्ञान ऐना दीजिये ॥२॥  
सर कटायें मोद से पर धर्म दें नहीं हाथ से ।  
ध्रुव हकीकत बन सकें वह आत्मशक्ति दीजिये ॥३॥  
फिर स्वदेशी वेष भाषा सभ्यता से प्रेम हो ।  
लेकर विदेशी व्यर्थ फैशन सादगी दे दीजिये ॥४॥  
बंध जायें सारे हिन्दवासी एकता के सूत्र में ।  
उत्पन्न ऐसे भाव सब के शुचि हृदय में कीजिये ॥५॥  
हम हों दुःखी या हों सुखी इसकी हमें चिन्ता नहीं ।  
पर त्राण भारत जननि का दुःखों से भगवन् कीजिये ॥६॥

### भजन सं०—४

हम दयानन्द के सैनिक हैं दुनियां में धूम मचा देंगे ।  
यदि पर्वत आये रस्ते में ठोकर से उसे गिरा देंगे ॥१॥  
हम आफ़त और मुसीबत को हंस कर सर पर झेलेंगे ।

हम लाज धर्म की रक्खेंगे और अपना आप मिटा देंगे ॥२॥  
हम पुत्र हैं भारत माता के माता पै संकट आया है ।  
हम उस के बन्धन काटेंगे और अपना शीस कटा देंगे ॥३॥  
दुनियां में अन्धेरा फैला है पापों ने डेरा डाला है ।  
प्रकाश वेद के जल्दी से उस को खूब मिटा देंगे ॥४॥  
हम कृष्ण युधिष्ठिर अर्जुन के वंशज हैं खूब समझ लेना ।  
मैदान में गर डट जायेंगे तो नाकों चने चबा देंगे ॥५॥  
है श्रद्धानन्द और लेखराम जी लक्ष्य हमारे जीवन के ।  
हम हंसराज हो जायेंगे बस धर्म पर जानें गंवा देंगे ॥६॥

### भजन सं० ५

हे जन्मभूमि जननी सेवा तेरी करूँगा ।  
तेरे लिये जिऊँगा तेरे लिये मरूँगा ॥१॥  
ब्रह्मचर्य नेम धर कर विद्वान् वीर बन कर ।  
निज देश वासियों के दुःख दूर मैं करूँगा ॥२॥  
हर जगह वो हर समय पर तेरा ही ध्यान होगा ।  
निज देश वेष भाषा का भक्त मैं बनूँगा ॥३॥  
संसार की विपत्ति हंस २ के मैं सहूँगा ।  
पर देशद्रोही बनकर यह पेट ना भरूँगा ॥४॥  
होंगी हराम मुझ को दुनियाँ की सारी खुशियाँ ।  
जब तक स्वतन्त्र तुझ को माता न मैं करूँगा ॥५॥  
धन माल और सर्वस प्राणों को वार दूँगा ।

पर मान तेरा माता जाने नहीं मैं दूंगा ॥६॥  
हम हिन्द के हैं बच्चे हिन्दोस्ताँ हमारा ।  
हे मात ! मरते दम तक गाता यही रहूँगा ॥७॥

### आरती

जय जगदीश हरे, प्रभु जय जगदीश हरे ।  
भक्त जनन के संकट क्षण में दूर करे ॥१॥  
जो ध्यावे फल पावे दुःख विनशे मन का ।  
सुख सम्पत्ति घर आवे कष्ट मिटे तन का ॥२॥  
मातु पिता तुम मेरे शरण गहूँ किसकी ।  
तुम बिन और न दूजा आस करूँ किसकी ॥३॥  
तुम पूरण परमात्म तुम अन्तर्यामी ।  
परमब्रह्म परमेश्वर तुम सब के स्वामी ॥४॥  
तुम करुणा के सागर तुम पालनकर्ता ।  
मैं सेवक तुम स्वामी कृपा करो भर्ता ॥५॥  
तुम हो एक अगोचर सब के प्राणपति ।  
किस विधि मिलूँ दयामय तुम को मैं कुमति ॥६॥  
दीनबन्धु दुःखहर्ता तुम रक्षक मेरे ।  
करुणा हस्त बढ़ाओ द्वार पड़ा तेरे ॥७॥  
विषय विकार मिटावो पाप हरो देवा ।  
“श्रद्धा” भक्ति बढ़ाओ सन्तन की सेवा ॥८॥

## आर्य-समाज के नियम ।



१—सब सत्यविद्या और जो पदार्थ विद्या से जाने जाते हैं, उन सब का आदि मूल परमेश्वर है ।

२—ईश्वर सच्चिदानन्दस्वरूप, निराकार, सर्वशक्तिमान्, न्यायकारी, दयालु, अजन्मा, अनन्त, निर्विकार, अनादि, अनुपम, सर्वाधार, सर्वेश्वर, सर्वव्यापक, सर्वान्तर्यामी अजर, अमर, अभय, नित्यपवित्र, और सृष्टिकर्ता है, उसी की उपासना करनी योग्य है ।

३—वेद सब सत्य विद्याओं की पुस्तक है, वेद का पढ़ना पढ़ाना और सुनना सुनाना सब आर्यों का परम-धर्म है ।

४—सत्य के ग्रहण करने और असत्य के छोड़ने में सर्वदा उद्यत रहना चाहिये ।



५—सब काम धर्मानुसार अर्थात् और असत्य को विचार कर करने चाहिये ।

६—संसार का उपकार करना आर्यसमाज का मुख्य उद्देश है अर्थात् शारीरिक, आत्मिक और सामाजिक उन्नति करना ।

७—सब से प्रीति पूर्वक धर्मानुसार यथायोग्य वर्तना चाहिये ।

८—अविद्या का नाश और विद्या की वृद्धि करनी चाहिये ।

९—प्रत्येक को अपनी ही उन्नति में सन्तुष्ट न रहना चाहिये । किन्तु सब की उन्नति में अपनी उन्नति समझनी चाहिये ।

१०—सब मनुष्यों को सामाजिक सर्वहितकारी नियम पालने में परतन्त्र रहना चाहिये और प्रत्येक हितकारी नियम में सब स्वतन्त्र रहें ।

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## II

### THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND AFTER

**The end of Poland.** Within three weeks of the outbreak of the War, Poland was defeated<sup>1</sup> On September 27th at Warsaw, the resistance power of the Poles was crushed by the German army, but before that Russia had attacked eastern Poland. After the Polish strength had been undermined, it became very easy for Russia to march through Poland. Simultaneously with its victory Russia established Communism in these countries. The large landed estates were distributed among the peasants and the poorest tenant got the most preferential treatment. Local soviets were established, and with the Russian aid, construction of roads and canals was undertaken with great speed. Eastern Poland was made a part of the Soviet Union<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to say whether this action was taken in accordance with certain previous agreements with Germany or without any prior agreement. On September 28, Germany and Russia signed a special Treaty according to which Poland was divided almost equally by a line drawn through Warsaw On October 8, the Polish Corridor and Silesia were incorporated in Germany, and only an area of 40,000 sq miles in central Poland, not included in either German or Russian territory, was left. The policy of Sovietisation was also followed in Polish Ukraine.

**The Foreign Policy of Russia.** In studying the Polish War, it is of the utmost importance to keep the Soviet policy in mind The Red Armies marched in southern Ukraine to a point where it became impossible for Germany to have direct

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1 The attack on Poland proved a very good opportunity for Germany to test its war weapons In this campaign Germany used 73 divisions, more than 2,000 aeroplanes and 6,000 tanks and attacked Poland from the north, south and the east at the same time See C. Hollingsmith: *The Three Weeks' War in Poland*

2 See Bernard Paras. *A History of Russia.*

contact with the borders of Hungary and Rumania. It was clear that Russia did not want that the path to the Baltic Sea and the Russian Ukraine should be left open for Germany. Thus a great obstacle was put in the way of German ambitions to march towards South-East Europe. Actually, behind the facade of Russo-German friendship was self-interest and diplomacy and the fundamental distrust between these two was never reduced. It was apparent from the very early period of the War that Russia was making all-out efforts to strengthen its frontiers. Hitler was forced to come to a Treaty with Russia and for this he had to pay a very heavy price.

After strengthening the Hungarian and Rumanian borders in the south-west, Russia now diverted its attention towards the Baltic States. The reason for this also was that it wanted to strengthen its border defences in proper time, not that it had launched on a new policy of imperialism. Russia has always been alert to a possible attack upon it via Luthania. The object of Stalin in advancing towards the Baltic Sea probably was to wash off the shame of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. The main object, however, was to establish Russian authority over the Baltic Sea. On September 28 Estonia was forced to friendship and mutual aid for 10 years with Russia. According to this Treaty Russia got the authority to establish air and naval bases on the shore of Estonia. In the next two weeks the two other Baltic States, Lithuania and Latvia, similarly came under Russian tutelage. Thus, Russia became the complete master of the Baltic and the path of Germany to march towards the east was blocked both in the north and the south. Hitler called back to Germany many of the families who were living in the Baltic provinces for a number of centuries. In the south, Russia advanced towards Rumania which had in its possession since World War I, the province of Bessarabia, formerly belonging to Russia and then it advanced towards Turkey, which had control of the Dardanelles. But here, Russia did not achieve any success. Rumania in the meantime strengthened its relations with Hungary and established close economic links with the Allied nations. Turkey rejected the demands of Russia to close the Baltic Sea for the ships of other nations, and signed a Treaty of mutual co-operation with Britain.

**The Finnish War.** It was as necessary for Russia to have domination over Finland as over the Baltic States, but it was faced with many difficulties. The Finnish armies were within 20 miles of Leningrad. Russia wanted Finland to give air bases just as it got air bases in the Baltic States. Finland, probably on the inspiration of Germany, rejected these demands. On 30th November, Russia attacked Finland. Stalin announced that the present Finnish Government is dissolved and in its place a government headed by an exiled Finnish Communist, Otto Kussinin, was announced. Although the total population of Finland is much less than the population of Leningrad, this small country resisted the giant power Russia with great heroism for many months. The war continued in the freezing winter of December, January and February. At last, Finland had to yield before the great power of Russia, and Russia also had to follow a policy of compromise and conciliation towards the establishment of a new administration in Finland. A Treaty was signed on March 30, 1940, which gave Russia what it wanted, and even more. Some people are of the opinion that the Finnish War indicates the rise of imperialism in Russia but as Barbara Waid says, "The entire object of Russian military action in the winter of 1939-40 was that at a time when its most powerful enemies were engaged elsewhere, it should strengthen itself from a military point of view. From a purely national point of view, Russian attack of Finland can be compared to the occupation of Sudetenland by Hitler. From a military point of view it was as much justified." Till the end of the Finnish War, the foreign policies of Germany and Russia seemed to move on parallel lines. On October 31, 1939, in a speech, Molotov laid the responsibility of the War on the head of England. Actually, in all their public announcements, the Russian leaders protested their friendship with Germany and repudiated all those allegations which had been made against this friendship. Many statements about far-reaching economic co-operation were also made, but in actual fact, no such step was taken which could have established greater friendship between the two countries. The Agreement with Russia gave Hitler the opportunity to postpone his schemes in the east and after getting confident about his eastern borders, he concentrated all his attention on the west.

**Victory over Eastern Europe.** After the fall of Poland which took only three weeks, the War entered a phase of very

propaganda section of the German Government was making constant attempts to draw a wedge between France and England and it achieved sufficient success in this. When the English armies escaped via Dunkirk the French became yet more distrustful of the English. On the other hand, regarding defence of France to be a lost hope, the British did not send any more armies to France. The result was that in the battle of the Soame, where more than 150 German divisions were fighting, only 3 or 4 English divisions fought on the side of France. The German Radio in a biting commentary said: "The British? They know only one war strategy—how to escape with their armies. Very soon you will read in their newspapers the triumphant declarations as to how British naval forces took away the last English soldier without any disorder and bloodshed."

**The Fall of France.** By the beginning of June 1940 the situation had become very serious. France was very much in need of help, but England was not at all in a position to give it. Neither had it any army to send to the Continent, nor had it enough war material by which it could compensate the huge losses at Flanders. On the morning of 13th July, 1940, the German armies reached Paris and the next day they occupied the city. Before the end of this tragedy, Churchill went to France and proposed to its Government to form an Anglo-French Union, but hardly any time was left for such a move. Petain succeeded in the place of Renan on 16th June, and he at once appealed to Germany for armistice. On June 22nd France signed the treaty terms as laid down by Germany as a result of which the entire coast line of France was given over to Germany. France also surrendered to Germany all its arms and ammunitions. The French Army and the Navy were disarmed. Taking advantage of the situation Italy also declared war on France and the Allies on June 10. On June 24 France had to sign a similar treaty of armistice with Italy. A leading military leader of France, Gen. De Gaulle, took refuge in Britain and there he announced the formation of an independent French Government. Britain was afraid that Germany might use the French warships to attack it and so either it took possession of the French warships lying in British harbours or destroyed them. This also had a bad effect upon Anglo-French relations<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See D. Draper *The Six Weeks' War, France, May 10-June 25, 1940*, Andre Maurois. *Why France fell*, H. F. Armstrong. *The Chronology of Failure The last days of the French Republic.*

**The Battle of Britain.** After the fall of France, Hitler was mightily strengthened. Now he was in possession of the entire sea-coast of Europe from Norway to Sweden. Within a few weeks his most ambitious dreams of war had been fulfilled, and so after the fall of France he had no immediate schemes to carry forward his battle with England. Both the countries were fighting each other on the sea. In the early months of the war some of the best British warships were sunk and in retaliation Britain attempted an economic blockade of Germany. Immediately after Churchill became the Prime Minister Britain began all-out efforts to strengthen its defence. Between July and October Britain was continuously bombarded. Every attempt was made to destroy its air bases, its naval dockyards, its food stores, etc. Within the next one year Germany dropped 2 lakh bombs over Britain which killed 33,000 people and wounded 50,000. In London alone more than 10 lakh houses were destroyed and in the rest of Britain 20,000 houses were ruined. The British gave a strong counter-reply. Between August 1940 and June 1941, it destroyed 5,220 German aeroplanes, out of which 66 planes were destroyed in a single day. The informations received later reveal that Hitler was not planning to attack Britain because he expected that very soon the British will surrender, but by its brave resistance the British destroyed these hopes of Hitler.

**The Foreign Policy of Italy.** On June 10th, when French resistance was rapidly collapsing, Italy declared war on France<sup>1</sup>. This was a step full of treachery and absolutely unwarranted. During the previous years relations of Italy with Germany had very much been strengthened. During the Spanish Civil War their armies fought shoulder to shoulder. The basis of German-Italian co-operation was not only political but also psychological, and even from the economic point of view they were near to each other. By the end of 1938 Italy had come to entirely depend upon Germany in its foreign policy, even though it is almost certain that while occupying Austria or on the occasion of the occupation of Sudetenland, Germany did not consider it necessary to consult Italy. Looking at the success achieved by Germany in Eastern Europe by threats, Italy began to believe that

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1. See P. Bodoglio, *Italy in the Second World War, The Ciano's Diaries 1939-43*, B. Mussolini, *Fall of Mussolini. His Own Story*

by following the same tactics it would be able to achieve complete domination in the Mediterranean. In fact Mussolini always dreamt of a Munich in the Mediterranean. But Italy neither had the necessary armed strength nor the economic resources to influence England and France in the Mediterranean as Germany could in Eastern Europe. The dream of a Mediterranean Munich could become true only on the help of Germany. But Germany at this time was busy in occupying Prague, conquering Memel and pressing Poland. It was apparent that it cared the least about its companion.

In September 1939 when War started, Italy did not immediately join it. While one reason for this may be attributed to Italy's weakness, the other reason was that it was necessary in the interests of Germany that Italy remained neutral. Aggression in Ethiopia and the civil war in Spain had so much tired out Italy that it could not even think of war. It had also the fear that in the event of a war France would attack its industrial centres which were near to the French borders and would easily destroy them, and England would block the two ends of the Mediterranean at Gibraltar and the Suez as a result of which 80 per cent of Italy's foreign trade and the whole of Italy's empire would break. Actually it was not at all prepared for a war. But if after the outbreak of the war it remained neutral, it was not because of its inability to enter the war but because of the requirements of Germany. Hitler believed that the Western nations were not prepared to fight a war and immediately after the victory over Poland, when he would announce the peace terms, the Western nations would keep quiet. When, however, Britain and France refused to talk peace even at the end of the Polish campaign, and the war seemed to drag on, even then Germany did not want Italy to enter the War because in that event it could be attacked from several directions. In that event Germany would be forced to rush to Italy's rescue. By remaining neutral Italy could be more useful by breaking the economic blockade of Germany. Gradually it became clear that if the Allied nations did not stiffen their economic blockade, and if the Balkan countries remained peaceful, Germany could face this blockade for an unlimited period. From this point of view also Italy's neutrality was essential. During the winter of 1939-40 Italy did very useful work in breaking Britain's economic blockade of Germany and maintaining the contacts of Germany with various markets of the world.



**Change in Attitude.** In the meantime many internal changes were taking place in Italy. The influence of Nazi and Fascist organisations was increasing. The Government was busy amassing war weapons and materials and this was affecting the standard of living of the people. On the other hand, German propaganda was also influencing Italy, and the feeling was gaining ground that England and France were resisting justifiable demands of the Germans for a *Lebensraum*, and on the other they were crushing the ambitions of Italy by holding it within their seas. The result of all this was that a feeling of hatred and anger developed in Italy against democratic countries. People became inclined towards war. In the spring of 1940, when the Allied nations stiffened their economic blockade and Germany was conquering one country after another, the whole aspect of war had changed. The war shifted now from the economic to the military field, and it became essential to take a decision as soon as possible. From this point of view, the utility of an Italian attack on the southern borders of France could be that the Allied nations would be forced to give considerable attention to the Mediterranean area. German *blitzkrieg* in Europe convinced Italy that war would end very soon. It was also now better prepared for a war. It became now impossible for Mussolini to control himself. On June 10, he declared war against France and Britain. France prayed for armistice. Italy had the satisfaction that it could achieve its dream with such ease.

**Disappointments of Italy.** As, however, time advanced disappointments to Italy increased. It was not at all prepared for a big war. In the economic field it was even less prepared. There was no internal discipline. Mussolini was probably thinking that after the fall of France Britain would accept defeat and the war would end. Actually Italy joined the war not to fight but to share the fruits of victory. If this was not the case it is difficult to understand why in the beginning of July when all the friends of Britain had been defeated and Britain had hardly any force in the Mediterranean and Egypt, Italy did not press upon Suez. England had very little force in the Mediterranean. In Malta, Gibraltar and Egypt it hardly had 250 old type aeroplanes, and 2 naval fleets at Alexandria and Malta. Italy had 10 big battleships and a fleet of many

cruisers, 500 aeroplanes and 2 lakh soldiers in Libya. In September, probably on the inspiration of Germany, Marshal Graziani advanced towards Egypt, but could not go beyond Siddi Barrani. In the meantime France had fallen. While Germany had occupied 2/3rd of its territory, Italy had got nothing. Its dreams of Corsica, Tunisia and Nice were still unfulfilled.

Italy attacked Greece in October. It is difficult to understand the reasons for it. Probably Italy feared that Germany might occupy the entire Balkans. This did not, however, result in any good for Italy. Within a month the last soldier of Italy was expelled from Greece and the Greek armies were advancing on the entire front towards Albania. Soon after this Britain's naval fleet attacked Taranto. Italy's fleet was most severely mauled. On December 7, British armies attacked Siddi Barrani, and in a bitter battle for two months, General Wavell not only expelled Graziani's armies from Egypt but forced him to evacuate the entire province of Cyrenaica. In the meantime Britain's air arm was attacking Italy's armies in Libya and the Mediterranean. 1,37,000 Italian soldiers were taken prisoner, and 1,300 big guns and a huge amount of other war material fell into the hands of the British. The situation deteriorated to such an extent that Marshal Badoglio resigned and there were rumours of a strong discontent and even revolt in the army. Germany immediately came to the rescue of its ally. German war planes replaced Italian planes in Sicily and other areas. German soldiers reached Africa, and the armed intervention of Germany in the Balkans washed away the shame of Italy's defeat in Albania. In the Middle East also, after the accession to power of pro-Nazi Governments in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Iran, the position of Britain became precarious, and it feared that Germany would attack its oil pipe-lines and also the Suez. To obviate this possibility the British removed the Iraq administration by force and established a Government at Baghdad which was entirely dependent upon them. Similar changes were brought about in the administration of Lebanon, Syria. In Iran also a forcible change in the Government was brought about. From the point of view of the defence of the empire, this was a major step, because there is no doubt that if Germany had got possession of these important Middle East territories, the Fascist forces would have been very much strengthened in their challenge to the British and the French empires.

**Changes in Soviet Foreign Policy.** Events in the latter half of 1940—fall of Norway, Holland, Belgium, and above all, France—brought about great changes in the policies of the nations involved in the war. These events, and the entry of Italy into the war on the side of Germany presented great dangers for Russia. Russia hoped that the war between the Fascist Powers and the democratic countries would drag on for a long time. But the fall of all the western nations except England presented an entirely new situation. Entry of Italy into the war meant a severe blow upon Britain in the Mediterranean. The direct route to India and Australia was thus cut and a dangerous situation had been created for Britain as regards Egypt and Palestine. The German armies marching gradually on the Western coast of Europe could any day occupy Gibraltar. Suez was already surrounded by the Italian colonies of Somaliland, Eritria, Ethiopia and Libya. Britain had prevented the situation from utter deterioration by sending its armies to Libya and by its bombardment of Taranto. But now the overall control of all Italian operations had been taken over by Hitler and Britain was being reduced to fits by insistent German bombardment.

**Hitler's pressure on South-East Europe.** It is difficult to surmise what would have happened had Germany attacked Britain in the spring of 1940. Germany, after strengthening its western defences, turned to the eastern border. All this time Russia was busy strengthening its defences. It had already taken possession of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. On June 26, 1940, it had occupied Bessarabia, and after that it occupied north Bukovina. Rumania had to cede the northern part of Transylvania to Hungary on August 30, 1940, and the southern part of Dobruja to Bulgaria on September 7. In the meantime German armies were marching towards Bucharest and the German submarines had reached the Black Sea. Probably the immediate object was to help Italy in its war with Greece. It appears that Germans had not anticipated such a rapid advance of the Russian armies in the south-east Europe and it was not prepared to resist this advance.

In the last months of 1940, Russia had to beat a retreat before the increasing influence of Germany in the region. Germany was permitted to send help to its armies in Norway via Finland. In the Balkans also Russia was not in a position to

demand any sphere of influence for itself. If Greece had not bravely resisted the Fascist aggression, then Bulgaria, and probably the Straits of Dardanelles would have come under German influence. By February 1941 German heavy guns had been placed on the Black Sea and the old danger to Ukraine had become very much real.

Hitler's march towards Greece was obstructed by two countries, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In both the countries Russia had considerable influence, although Britain's influence in Yugoslavia was no less. On March 1, 1941, Bulgaria was forced to join Germany's 'New Order' and give way to German armies in its march towards Greece. On March 25, the Government of Yugoslavia signed an agreement by which its railways were handed over to Germany and its armies were forced to surrender their arms, and it agreed to join the 'New Order'. But people revolted against this agreement. In place of Boris, Peter was declared king, and England as well as Russia promised to help Yugoslavia. But Yugoslavia could not be defended. On April 6, it had to bow before the German armies. The German armies now marched towards Greece.

The British air arm was helping Greece against Italy from the very beginning, and a unit of the British army in North Africa was sent to Greece. But it could not do much. The resistance of the Greek armies was broken. It was pushed back. Gradually entire Greece and the southern islands of Crete, where the Greek king had sought asylum was occupied by the Germans. Thus by the beginning of June, Germany established its domination over the entire Balkans. This domination could not be made stable till such time as British air force could be ousted not only from Crete but also from North Africa. The fall of Crete was a great blow to Britain's prestige. By sending armies to Greece Britain's strength in Egypt was weakened and the result was that General Rommel was able to throw back the British armies from everywhere except Tobruk. Thus Germany's position in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean was very much strengthened. In the meantime, however, Britain had got a breathing time to remove pro-German rulers from the countries of the Middle East and thus strengthen itself. Britain was now so much strengthened in the Middle East that Germany could not conveniently move further in that direction.

**The Difficulties of Russia.** All these months Anglo-Russian collaboration was increasing. They had common interests and approach in Greece and Yugoslavia. Russia viewed with apprehension the growing strength of the Fascist powers in the South-East Europe. In the Mediterranean, as also in the Pacific Ocean, the danger was developing equally for Britain as well as Russia. There were continuous disputes between Russia and Japan on boundary questions. Japan had achieved internal unity and was expanding towards the South. On June 12, 1940, it entered into an agreement with Siam. The fall of France had opened before it the way to Indo-China. On September 29, the anti-Communist agreement between Japan, Germany and Italy was converted into a triangular agreement whose object was to establish a 'New Order' in the continents of Asia and Europe. Thus Russia was surrounded on both sides by the 'New Order'. On 13th April, when the Japanese Foreign Minister, Matsukoa, was returning from Berlin, he entered into an agreement with Molotov at Moscow in which Russia was assured that in case it was attacked by any third country (presumably Germany) Japan would remain neutral. But by the time Matsukoa reached Tokyo he had been removed from his Foreign Ministership. On November 13, Molotov himself reached Berlin and had a personal talk with Hitler for a number of hours. It appears that these negotiations produced no results.

**Relations between Germany and Russia.** The relations between Germany and Russia were never based on mutual trust. By September 1940, Hitler had realised that it was difficult to defeat Britain, and in order to achieve this objective he considered it essential to have under command the entire economic resources of Europe. Russia thus could not have been left free for any considerable length of time. Russia had utilised its agreement with Germany to further strengthen itself. It possessed unlimited man-power and economic resources. The difficulties which Russia had to encounter in order to crush a small country like Finland convinced Hitler that Russia had neither modern military equipments nor an able leadership. Hitler and his advisers estimated that it would not take more than four months to crush Russia. The trade agreement signed between Russia and Germany before the outbreak of the war was not working well. Hitler could not get all the petrol he wanted. He was convinced that if he could get control of the oil and transport

resources of the Soviet Union, he could fulfil his requirements. It is believed that Hitler had decided to attack Russia in the Autumn of 1940, but Gen. Keitel prevented him from doing so. The Triangular agreement between Germany, Italy and Japan on September 27 was a step in this direction. Failure of Molotov-Hitler talks in November further made the problem serious. On November 26, 1940, Russia placed certain demands before Hitler. It was demanded that the areas to the south of Baku and Batum should be considered under Russian sphere of influence, Russia should get air bases in Bulgaria and that German armies should be withdrawn from Finland. These demands clearly spoiled the relations between the two countries. Russian papers no more criticised Churchill and the news of German victories began to be printed in the newspapers at unimportant places. Russia at the same time began a large-scale reorganisation of its armies. On May 6 Stalin assumed the post of Prime Minister and Molotov was made Deputy Prime Minister. This was an important event, because till now Stalin had never occupied any position within the administration. It became apparent from this that Stalin had firmly decided to mobilise the entire strength of the Russian State to face the coming danger.

**German Attack on Russia.** As summer months advanced the German and Russian armies collected at the borders. Hitler had by now mobilised 150 German divisions, 20 Rumanian divisions and 10 Finnish divisions. Russia had 180 divisions. On the morning of June 21, without declaring a war, the German armies crossed the Russian border. The North Army advanced towards Leningrad, under Von Lelb, the Middle Army towards Smolensk under Von Bolk, and the Southern Army moved in the direction of Ukraine under Von Runstedt. All the three armies got initial successes. During the first four months they got possession of 50 per cent of Russia's coal mines, 50 per cent of its steel production, 60 per cent of Russia's iron mines and also the best agricultural portions of Russia. But they absolutely failed to achieve their objective. Even Leningrad could not be occupied. Moscow was yet far away. Russia was covered with ice one month before the normal time, and the winter became very severe, the German soldiers had not enough warm clothing. Their machines cooled off and the transport goods were crushed under snow by the beginning of December. Germans were being thrown back on all fronts

and the signs of ultimate German defeat were clearly visible on the horizon

**Change in America's Attitude.** According as the European democracies were being smashed, the United States of America began to seriously ponder about its policy. It began to lose faith in neutrality and to think in terms of co-operation with the democratic countries. In a statement issued on July 16, 1937, Cordell Hull said. "It is undoubtedly true that there are various areas where the present conflicts and differences apparently appear to touch only the neighbouring countries, but in the final analysis they are affecting the whole world . . . We do not want to involve ourselves in any organisation or troublesome commitments, but we do believe in co-operative efforts of a peaceful and practical type"<sup>1</sup> In order to strengthen this "Co-operative effort" it was necessary to develop the power of "self-defence". The United States was now realising that it could not afford to look disinterestedly at international problems, specially when "the tendency to break all laws was growing, the treaties were being torn to bits, force was increasingly resorted to, and numerous other tendencies were visible" The policy of the United States of America was to keep itself free from international commitments, and at the same time to save itself from the harmful effects of a neutral policy. The policy followed by America at the Brussels Conference was considered a fine example of this co-operative effort. In point of fact, in its Far Eastern policies America deliberately deviated from its neutralist laws

It was clear that America was breaking away from its neutrality, although this feeling could not immediately be removed from the United States. Nevertheless, the feeling was growing that a policy of neutrality is another name for "national suicide" America could not afford to ignore the deliberate trampling of those ideas on which its whole life was based. Cordell Hull said. "If we and our friendly nations forget these principles in the area of the Pacific, which comprises of half the world, then we will be forced to forego them in other parts of the world as well." Actually, the problems of the world could not be viewed in

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1. See C. Hull's *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (Two volumes), W. Johnson's *The Battle Against Isolation*.

compartments. The happenings in Europe had made it clear that when treaties are torn as under in any part of the world and violence conquers, its effect inevitably spreads to other countries. It was not possible for America to follow a policy of neutrality, and it had become essential to reply force by force. Cordell Hull said in his speech: "The biggest question is: Can the glorification of force be again allowed, and can it be permitted that international anarchy and barbarism be again established, or is it essential that America and other peace-loving nations, having the fullest faith in those principles on which international system is based, should continuously, alone or with the co-operation of the other nations, in accordance with the situation and in line with traditional policies and behaviour and enlightened self-interest, encourage justice, morality, law and order on an international basis and defend them?" In the words of President Roosevelt, "Active efforts should be made to defend Peace. America hates war. America hopes for Peace and that is why it is searching for peace in an active manner."

**Active Search for Peace.** As the clouds of war became more dense over Europe this "active search for peace" became more intense. On August 16, 1937, Cordell Hull said in a radio speech: "Whatever may be our wishes and hopes, when trouble has spread in another place, we cannot hope to remain untouched. When destruction, poverty and starvation are spreading in other areas, howsoever we may type we cannot keep our economic order as it is. When the light of freedom is going off in one country after another, when our ideals of individual liberty and our dear political and social institutions are in danger, when in a greater part of the world the respect for the human soul is denied, and when this denial has become a slogan under which large-scale propaganda is made and armies have marched, then none of us can believe that our country or our homes can remain safe." Two days after this, speaking at a University in Canada, Roosevelt said: "In America we are no more a far away continent which can remain uninfluenced or unharmed by the conflicts across the ocean." In his speech Roosevelt promised fullest aid to Canada without attaching any conditions. On January 4, 1939, in his annual address to the United States Congress, the President referred to "the storm-



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signals from the other side of the ocean" and said this about the events in Europe "No doubt a war which threatened to engulf the entire world in its flames has been postponed, but it is becoming increasingly clear that peace cannot be considered to be safe"

**The Organisation of American Countries** In the meantime efforts were on to organise all the countries of the American continent This Pan-American Organisation was begun at a conference in Montevideo in 1933. The United States renounced its right to interfere in the affairs of Cuba and withdrew its warships from Haiti. With the help of five other American Republics it helped in the solution of conflicts between Bolivia and Paraguay In 1936, on U S inspiration, an Inter-American Conference was convened in Buenos Aires "with a view to defend peace" and a policy of Inter-American co-operation was announced At the 8th Pan-American Conference held at Lima in December 1938, this policy of organisation and co-operation was further strengthened. Speaking before the New York Bar Association on January 27, 1939, America's Assistant Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, characterised the declarations of Buenos Aires and Lima as of "historic importance" and said "These have begun a new and auspicious chapter in the history of the Western hemisphere"

**United States Support of the Democratic Countries** The German armies crossed the Polish border on September 1, 1939. On September 3, President Roosevelt in a radio speech drew the attention of the peoples of the world to "a simple but unchangeable truth of modern international relations" namely, "when peace is disturbed in any part of the world, then peace is in danger in every country at every place" America decided to remain neutral, but it was at the same time made clear that neutrality in war did not mean neutrality in ideas. The obstructions of the 1935 Neutrality Act were proving irksome, and Roosevelt himself began to propagate against it The result was that the Neutrality Act was amended in November 1941 and the nations of the world were permitted "to pay cash and take finished goods from America" This clause was clearly advantageous to only those nations which had enough ships, but in the summer of 1940, when the democratic countries of Europe were collapsing before Hitlerite armies, it became essential for the United States to take greater interest in European

affairs, specially in matters relating to the defence of Britain. Roosevelt now published a three-point programme whose object was (i) to increase the ground, air and naval power of the United States, (ii) to further consolidate the organisation of the Western hemisphere and (iii) to more intensively help countries fighting against Fascist aggression. In September 1940, for the first time in the history of the United States of America, military training was made compulsory in peace time. During the war days America prepared 2,46,201 aeroplanes, 87,000 tanks, 24,34,553 trucks, 1,35,000 guns, etc.<sup>1</sup> Its air power was very much enhanced. In July 1940, another Inter-American Conference was called at Havana where it was decided that no European colony in America could be transferred to any other European country. The relations of United States with Canada were strengthened. Britain was given more active help. America also now agreed to supply military goods for which naval bases were mortgaged to it as against cash payments. Under this arrangement, five American warships were supplied to Britain and much other war materials were also sent there. After some time America undertook upon itself the responsibility of transporting these goods to its destination under its own protection. Roosevelt said: "It is necessary to keep the light of democracy burning. . . it is not enough that we from time to time keep on cutting the wick and cleaning the glass. Now the time has come when in order to keep the wick burning it is necessary to supply more oil."

**Attack on Pearl Harbour.** In the meantime, the relations between Japan and the United States of America were continuously deteriorating, and Japan's advance to the South had created a new difficulty for the United States. America had very much reduced its trade with Japan. After the fall of France and Holland, Japan increased its pressure upon Indo-China and Indonesia. On December 7, 1941, it suddenly attacked the U. S. Naval base at Pearl Harbour and destroyed five of its battleships, three destroyers, and a number of other ships and severely damaged several cruisers, 177 aeroplanes were also destroyed. Thus Japan entered the War with a big explosion and all on a sudden on the side of the Fascist nations, and its main target was America's naval power in the

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<sup>1</sup> See D. M. Nelson: *Arsenal of Democracy. The History of American Production.*

Pacific After Pearl Harbour it attacked the Philippines and very soon occupied it In East Asia, Japan was winning almost with the same speed with which in the previous year Hitler had succeeded in Europe. Within a few months Japan had full occupation of Malaya, Burma and Indonesia. By May 1942, the greater part of the Pacific Ocean had become a Japanese Lake and the Indian Ocean became, so to say, a Japanese Bay Between the Japanese Island and its enemies, there lay thousands of miles of sea in which hundreds of islands were converted into powerful forts It was clear that to break this fortification and cross thousands of miles of sea with a view to attacking Japan was almost beyond imagination But for America it had not only become a question of prestige but also of its very existence, and in order to wipe the shame of its defeat it marshalled all its resources and power.

**The War in North Africa.** In March 1941, the German armies under the able leadership of Gen Rommel attacked the British armies at a place called Alga and this attack was so ferocious that there was no other way left for the British troops except to fly away They took refuge in Egypt. It is certain that if Rommel's field operations had not become so widespread and Hitler had not been so involved in it, the German armies would have definitely reached Cairo and Suez. The summer of 1941 was utilised by Britain to strengthen its military position, and in November they counter-attacked Rommel's armies and pushed it behind up to Benghazi In May and June 1942 there were some terrible battles fought in North Africa By July the British troops were thrown back again to El-Alamien. In August 1942, the British Army which was in North Africa was brought under the command of Gen Montgomery Montgomery was a very capable general By October he reorganised his armies, and by October end he threw back Rommel's armies by about 1,400 miles Suez was now saved and all Hitler's dreams to occupy Britain's lifelines in the Mediterranean were dashed to the ground The initiative had now passed into the hands of the Allies On November 8 their armies landed in North Africa Gen Eisenhower was the commander of the American armies American armies were opposed in Algeria and Morocco In Europe Germany took entire France under its military occupation and attempted to take under its possession nearly 60 warships which were lying

in the Toulon harbour. But in this Germany failed because before Toulon could be occupied by them, the warships were skittled. The military might of the Allied armies was now continuously increasing. The war continued to be fought in the winter of 1943. By May 1943, it had become clear that there were no hopes for a German victory. The Axis powers had to pay a very heavy price in the North African war. It is estimated that 41 of their warships, 5 lakh tonnage of their commercial ships, 8,000 aeroplanes, 6,000 guns, 2,550 tanks and 70,000 trucks were destroyed and above a million soldiers were either killed or captured. The greatest advantage which befell the Allied nations by their victory in North Africa was that they could now attack Europe at a point where it was comparatively less fortified.

**The Allied Attack on Italy.** After the victory over Tunisia, the Allied armies moved towards Sicily. Their object was to capture Marina and then to land on Italian soil. Marina fell on August 17 and 37,000 Germans were captured and nearly 1,000 planes and huge war material fell into the hands of the Allied armies. The attack on Italy began in July 1943. On September 3, Italy surrendered unconditionally. In the meantime, Mussolini had fallen. Marshal Badoglio had assumed the reins of power in Italy. Germany made supreme efforts to prevent further advance of Allied armies with the result that War in Italy was very much prolonged, although after the fall of Rome on June 4, Hitler had hardly any hope left for reoccupying Italy.

**The Russo-German War:** In the winter of 1941 the German armies were withdrawing from Russia after their failure. But Hitler decided to launch another severe attack on Russia in the summer of 1942. This time the German armies did not advance towards Leningrad or Moscow. Their object was to occupy the oil fields of the Caucasus. The Russian counter-attack at Kharkov undoubtedly reduced the speed of German advance, but after that the Nazi armies moved towards Sevastopol, and within a very short time they ejected the Russians from Crimea and continued their advance along the Black Sea coast. Within six weeks they marched a distance of 250 miles and reached Rostov. By the end of August they had advanced another 200 miles. At the same time another German army attacked Stalingrad. On August 23, 1942, began the ferocious battle of Stalingrad.

in which the Russians very powerfully resisted the German armies. The battle was fought practically in every building, every house, room and even every staircase. Within two months more than a million bombs were dropped upon Stalingrad and nearly 2 lakh Germans were killed. By the beginning of November it had become clear that Stalingrad was invincible. The Russian armies fought with great heroism under the leadership of Marshal Zhukov and their resistance was continuously strengthened because from all sides innumerable Russian troops and unlimited war supplies were reaching Stalingrad. By the end of November the German army began to be surrounded on all sides, and by December they were completely encircled. Now the Russians counter-attacked and the Red Army began to retake one city after another. In the summer of 1943, Germany made one more supreme effort to prevent the advance of the Russian troops. But in this it was completely unsuccessful. On August 23, Kharkov was reoccupied by the Russians and by the beginning of November they reached the Dnieper and began crossing it at many points. Between July and October the Russian army had killed about 9 lakh German soldiers and nearly 18 lakhs were either surrounded or taken prisoner. The Russians destroyed 10,000 German planes, 17,000 tanks, 75,000 military trucks. By January 1944, the Red Army had reached eastern Poland and in the beginning of April they entered Rumania. In the north they achieved even greater success. In January 1944, German troops were ejected from southern Finland and the Red Army began to advance along the Baltic coast. The strength of the Red Army was continuously increasing. Germany made all attempts to strengthen its defences. But it was now abundantly clear that it could not win the war.

**Victory in West Europe.** When Stalin attacked Germany he demanded that the Allied powers should open a second front on the western borders of Germany, but they seemed to show no sign of enthusiasm for it. Churchill's idea was that the Allied armies should move towards Germany from the south-east, but this would have created in Russia a feeling that this was being done in order to prevent the growth of its influence in south-east Europe. In April 1942, a decision was arrived at to open a second front in the West but the steps taken to implement this decision were very slow. In December 1943, Eisenhower was made the Supreme Commander

of the Allied Forces. Preparations for an attack were begun in January 1944. In the beginning attempts were made to destroy the defence lines on the eastern coast and in areas of possible attack and also to destroy the air bases. The areas to be attacked were air surveyed and nearly seven miles of harbours were got ready in order to land the armies. June 6 was fixed as the date of attack and it was launched at midnight. Within 24 hours more than 225,000 soldiers were landed and began to advance rapidly. Within ten days their number reached 5 lakhs, and they were very well equipped with war materials. In the very beginning they occupied an area 70 miles wide and 12 miles deep. By June 20, about 41,000 German soldiers were captured. But the progress of the armies was rather slow in the first seven weeks. One reason for this was that this area was full of thorny and dense bushes and it took a long time to clear them. The march of the armies became swift after 25th July. On August 15 another unit of French and American armies entered France from the south. Paris was liberated on August 19 and the Government of Gen. de Gaulle was established. It is undoubted that these attacks had shaken the German morale, but gradually they were retreating to the Siegfried Line. By 15th September entire France was liberated and the last German soldier left France soil.

It proved a very difficult task for the Allied nations to break the defence lines of the Germans. They attempted to land their soldiers behind the German lines by aeroplanes, but in this they did not meet with much success. These defence lines were constructed after years of hard labour and they were very strong. The Allied armies also attempted to reach Holland and Belgium by the sea-route, but here they had to face strong German opposition. In October, at Aachen, this wall was broken but it did not produce any considerable consequences. Germany had been suffering great military losses and no other way was open to it except to reach a decision by a strong counter-attack. On December 16 Germany launched a powerful counter-offensive at Ardennes, and within a week the German armies advanced fifty miles and created a forty-mile wide path for themselves in the Allied lines. But they could do nothing beyond this. In the words of a German General, the Germans had thrown their last dice and they had lost. After this the Allied armies began to advance swiftly. They

had three objectives: to expel the German armies from West Rhineland, to cross the Rhine, and to capture or destroy the remaining German armies. The first objective was achieved between February and March and the Rhine was crossed with amazing success. To surround the German armies from many sides was no more a difficult task. In the meantime the work of liberating the various countries from German domination was continued.

In the summer of 1944 the Russian armies began to move towards the west. They had occupied Finland and Rumania. After occupying Rumania it was not at all difficult to occupy Bulgaria and Hungary. In the meantime, Yugoslavia had successfully expelled the German armies and declared its independence. Thus Germany was surrounded on all sides. There were no hopes of victory. The Russian winter attack could not be launched on January 12, 1945, but by this time they had occupied a huge area and could advance on a number of fronts. Every nook and corner of Germany was being bombed and German aeroplanes were being systematically destroyed. By April 1945 German air power was crushed. The German armies fighting in Italy had also been by now crushed. On April 28 Mussolini was murdered by his own people and on 29th April Italy surrendered as a result of which nearly 10 lakh German soldiers were captured. In the meantime the march of the Russian armies was continuing. Goering forsook Hitler on April 23 and on April 29 Himmler also broke away from Hitler. On April 30th, when the Russian armies were about to enter Berlin, Hitler, his wife Eva Braunn and Goebbels and some other companions committed suicide. The Russians occupied Berlin on May 2, and on May 8 the German navy surrendered unconditionally and thus ended the terrible Second World War in Europe.

**Victory in the Pacific.** After the spring of 1943, American Marines, under the protection of a powerful naval fleet, continued to advance in the Pacific and occupied one island after another. Each new island occupied was converted into a base for further advance. The Japanese naval forces were gradually retreating. The occupation of Gilbert and Marshal Islands by America in the winter of 1943-44 endangered the second line of Japanese defence. By July 1944 the Americans occupied the Marina Islands, from where it was possible to launch attacks upon Japan. By the end of October

American battleships and heavy cruisers had reached the west of the Philippines. Japan considered the defence of the Philippines most essential, and it sent there large numbers of naval ships and armies, but they were destroyed. By January 5, 1945, America had occupied Luzon, Manila and other important Philippine cities. Nearly 5,50,000 Japanese soldiers were killed or taken prisoner in the Philippines. After this the American navy occupied Iwojima and Okinawa, which were at a distance of 750 and 330 miles, respectively, from Japan. In the defence of Okinawa alone the Japanese lost 1,18,000 soldiers. By May 1945, the Allied nations had reoccupied Burma. In the meantime, Japan was being heavily air-bombed and its big cities and industrial centres were being destroyed. Japan was now convinced that any further resistance on its part was an impossible proposition. After Tojo resigned from the Prime Ministership, another Government was formed under Kojio. Even in the beginning of 1944 Japan had begun to believe that it could not win the war. But it could not accept defeat so long as Germany was fighting. After the fall of Germany no other way was open to Japan except surrender. On August 6, an atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. On August 8 Russia declared war on Japan and another atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on August 9. Now no other way was open to Japan except immediate surrender. On August 14, it accepted all the terms laid by the Allied nations. These terms were (i) to remove all those elements from the administration which were till then running it, (ii) to limit Japanese territory to only those islands which had Japanese population; (iii) to try the Japanese war criminals and punish them, (iv) Allied occupation of Japan and (v) establishment of democratic institutions in Japan. With the acceptance of these terms by Japan the World War ended on the Asian continent as well, and thus the world was free from this great holocaust in which more than 1 1/2 crores of people lost their lives. Now a tired and oppressed humanity began to look up with some hope on those persons who were charged with the responsibility of creating an international organisation which would make war in future an impossibility.

**Search for a basis for peace.** Even when the Second World War was at its height people were discussing the lines upon which the world would have to be reconstructed after the War. Even before America entered the war in January 1941,



President Roosevelt had announced his formula of four human freedoms: Freedom of speech and thought, of religion, Freedom from poverty, and from fear. In August 1941, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had announced the famous Atlantic Charter from a place near New Foundland which had emphasised the following. (i) No country will attempt to draw economic profits out of the war, (ii) the state boundaries should be changed in accordance with the wishes of the people, (iii) every nation will have the right to decide the form of government it wants, (iv) those countries which had been deprived of political freedom will have the fullest right to get back their old freedom, (v) not only will all nations be assured against aggression and fear but every attempt would be made to free its people from poverty and fear, (vi) an international organisation will be created with a view to preserving world peace.

After thus many international conferences of the Allied nations were held to solve problems over which there were differences among them, and also to decide the basis for future peace. Of these the Casablanca Conference of 1943, the Moscow Conference of 1943, the Teheran Conference of December 1943, the Yalta Conference of 1945, and the July-August 1945 Conference at Potsdam deserve special mention. At Moscow it was decided to divide the Balkan countries between Russian and British spheres of influence. At Yalta decisions were taken about the future of Germany and Poland and the future boundaries of the Balkan countries were also discussed. At Yalta Russia was given many rights over East Asia. But in between these conferences the differences between the East and the West was growing, and so when the problem of establishing peace came, unexpected difficulties and complications arose.

**The War-time Treaties.** Russia insisted that it should be free to enter into independent treaties with East European countries. The Western nations accepted it. But when they on their part wanted a similar freedom for a treaty with Italy, Russia objected. The task of drafting the treaties was given to the Foreign Ministers of four big nations—Bevin, Burns, Bidault and Molotov. And by February 1947 after exchanging views with other countries, they succeeded in securing the signatures of the concerned countries on these treaties. Italy was forced to cede its border areas to France, Greece and Yugoslavia, and an independent regime was est-

abished in Trieste under the supervision of the United Nations; the independence of Libya was recognised; Italian Somaliland was put under the protection of the United Nations. Eritria was similarly given over to the United Nations, and Ethiopia was liberated. Rumania got back that portion of Transylvania which had been snatched by Hungary in 1940. But Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina was not taken away from Russia, but given to it. The Bulgarian boundaries expanded a bit because it got southern Dobruja from Rumania. Finland was forced to give certain territories to Russia. Apart from this all the defeated nations were forced to pay huge amounts as compensation.

**The Establishment of the United Nations.** The Atlantic Charter of August 1942 had already suggested the creation of an international organisation to preserve peace. In January 1942, a United Nations Charter was signed by the United States, Russia, Britain, and China. It was later signed by 41 other countries. In this the firm decision was expressed to fight against the Fascist countries to the very end and every nation assured that it would not enter into a separate treaty with the enemy. At the Moscow Conference in October 1943, the four big nations gave the assurance to work for the creation of an international organisation for preserving peace. Later at Dumbarton Oaks, the four big nations placed before the other countries a comprehensive scheme for an international organisation. The representatives of 50 nations met at San Francisco in April 1945 to discuss this scheme, and after discussions lasting for two months, they published the United Nations Charter. By October 1945, most of the Allied nations signed this Charter, and the United Nations came into being.

**The Organisation of the United Nations.** The chief parts of the United Nations Organisations are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court and the Secretariat. Every member nation has a right to send its representatives to the General Assembly. Its sessions are held in September, but by a majority decision of the members or on the initiative of the Security Council, a special session can also be convened. On important questions a two-thirds majority is necessary, and for ordinary questions a bare majority is enough for a decision. The main work of the General Assembly is to discuss international problems. It can

only recommend but cannot decide. Under the constitution of the United Nations, the power for final decision rests with the Security Council. The General Assembly works through sub-committees. There are eleven members on the Security Council out of which six are elected for a period of two years and the remaining five—United States, Russia, Britain, China and France—are permanent members. From the point of the U.N. Constitution the Security Council is its chief body; it is in continuous session. Its chief object is to preserve world peace. It enquires into international disputes and takes action against aggressors. It can, of course, take diplomatic and economic steps against defaulting nations, but it also has powers to take military action. The greatest difficulty in the work of the Security Council, however, lies in the fact that none of its decisions can be implemented till it has the support of all the five permanent members. Thus every big nation has got the power of veto, and in a world which is fast dividing into two camps this power of veto has more or less made the Security Council ineffective. Many sub-committees dealing with military or atomic energy, or similar other problems, work along with the Security Council. Some efforts have been made to secure disarmament during the last few years.

The Economic and Social Council consists of 18 members. It has nothing to do with politics. Its task is to remove the economic and social causes of war. This organisation has been founded on the basis that if standards of living can be raised, and if one has the fullest assurance of human rights, then a better atmosphere can be created for the preservation of world peace. The Economic and Social Council works through many special bodies, such as the United Nations Economic and Social Council, the Food and Agricultural Organisation, the World Health Organisation, etc. It also appoints special committees from time to time to study specific problems. Its main work is to place its recommendations on economic and social problems before the general body and also before the different nations. There is no doubt that this organisation has done very good work in the course of the last few years.

The main object of the Trusteeship Council is to help the General Assembly in the administration of those countries over which the United Nations has to be made a Trustee. Its main object is to raise the standard of administration of the colonial

countries. In point of fact this Council has very little power. It can listen to the complaints of the colonies, but can give very little help in removing these complaints.

The International Court, like the Court of the League of Nations, is an attempt to solve the legal difficulties that arise between different states. It has nothing to do with political differences. All organisations of the United Nations can consult it on any question relating to International Law.

The work of the Secretariat is to help the work of these organisations, but its Secretary-General has got the right to draw the attention of the Security Council to any specific question which he may consider necessary.

We have given above a brief account of some of the main bodies of the United Nations. Since the inception of the United Nations, these bodies have been doing their work with great interest and devotion, and though the U.N.O. may not have achieved any spectacular political success, these other organisations have made real contribution in their respective fields. In the political field, the United Nations has no doubt achieved some success, but we have to remember that the very basis of the establishment of the United Nations was co-operation between big nations, specially between America and Russia. But this co-operation has been day by day going down and with it the utility of the United Nations Organisation.

**Russia: The Growth in its Power.** Compared to other countries Russia had to bear the greatest loss during the war. Eight lakh square miles of its territory was devastated by the Nazi invaders and 30 lakhs of its soldiers killed. It has been estimated that in the Battle of Stalingrad alone the number of Russians who died will be equal to all the soldiers of America who died in World War II, and in the battle of Kharkov alone the number of Russians killed will be equal to the number of Americans killed in the entire war against Japan. The proportion of soldiers killed between the rest of the Allies and Russia is said to be 1 · 10. Apart from this, 2½ crores of Russian citizens were deprived of homes. The War, however, resulted in great advantages to the Soviet Union and it got possession of various new territories. Further many states situated on its borders came under the influence of its economic policies and Russian influence was greatly est-

ablished in their internal administration as also in foreign policies. The greatest advantage to the Soviet Union in the War was the great self-confidence which it got by successfully throwing back the unprecedented might of the German armies. As a matter of fact, within the last one century Russia achieved such a big military success for the first time. As a result its influence in world diplomacy also considerably increased. Russia got many other advantages as well. The Communist regime was even more firmly established in the country and Stalin's prestige rose very high<sup>1</sup>. After the War the military leaders were not allowed to dominate the administration in any way. The Communist Party also was purged of undesirable elements, and thus the entire power was centralised in Stalin to a greater extent.

After the war Stalin and his colleagues devoted their entire energy to develop the strength of the country<sup>2</sup>. An atmosphere of insecurity was maintained in the country. It was always emphasised that the danger to Russia was not yet over, and the capitalist-imperialist countries were determined to attack it and destroy its ideology. The armies were not reduced to any considerable extent, and research continued on preparing powerful weapons of war. In 1943 the International Organisation of Communist Parties, the Comintern, had been dissolved. But in 1947, another organisation, the Cominform, was reorganised and Russia again began to interfere in the internal political life of other countries. Whatever war compensation Russia got was fully utilized to increase its strength. The Potsdam declaration of July 1945 had authorised Russia to remove German industries from its sphere of influence in Germany, and also to have its share in other German industries. Apart from this, Russia got huge amounts as war compensation from Hungary, Rumania, Finland and Italy, and it had also received huge amounts of war material from the United States. All this was utilised by Russia to increase its strength. In February 1944, Russia launched its fourth five-year plan whose main object was not to produce goods for the daily consumption

1 See I Deutscher *Stalin: A Biography*.

2. For more detailed study see D. Dallin's *Forced Labour in the Soviet Union and Soviet Russia and the Far East*, Gooch, *Russia in Perspective*; Mandel *Guide to the Soviet Union*, Namg. *East of the Iron Curtain*, G. Sovolveytchek; *Russia in Perspective*, and V. Yakhortoff: *U.S.S.R. Foreign Policy*.

of the people but to increase production with a view to develop national strength. The result was that when this plan was fulfilled the heavy industries in Russia increased by 66 per cent whereas the consumer goods industries increased only by 26 per cent. Besides this, Russia removed its industries from its western borders, where they could be endangered in the event of a war, and established them in the Urals, and in this undeveloped area many new cities were established where huge industries began to flourish. As a result of these plans Russia got so strengthened that in the event of war with the Western countries it could crush entire Europe.

**Britain: Struggle for Existence.** The Second World War also did great damage to Britain. Six lakhs of Britons were killed or wounded, about 40 lakh houses were destroyed, the number of its cargo ships came down considerably, and its internal as also external debt increased to very big proportions. In the words of its famous economist Keynes. "In order to achieve immediate strength Britain sacrificed all considerations for its future." Immediately after the War there were elections to the British Parliament in which the Labour Party had a stunning victory over the Conservative Party and a Labour Government was established in Britain. This was a great victory for democracy and Britain is the only country where such a big political change could be effected so peacefully. Whereas on the one hand the War had resulted in a tremendous increase in the power of Stalin in Russia, in Britain Churchill was removed from office with the greatest ease, and under Attlee's leadership the Labour Party got the reins of administration. The Labour Party immediately undertook a programme of nationalisation. The British economy had been completely crushed as a result of the war. In order to maintain their standards of living the only way open to the British people was to produce more and more for export. For this the British underwent great hardship. The Labour Party believed that in order to increase production, it was essential to bring big mines and industries in fact the entire economy, under control. This work was begun by the nationalisation of banking and insurance on February 14, 1946. As a result of the nationalisation of the banks, Government's direct or indirect control was established over the economic life of the country. In August the air services were nationalised. In January 1947 the coal mines were nationalised and later the entire transport of Britain was brought under

Government control This was followed by the nationalisation of electricity. On May 4, 1949, the gas industry was nationalised, followed by nationalisation of iron and steel on May 9 Thus 20 per cent of the country's economy came under complete Government control, it further controlled considerably the remaining part of the economy All this, on the whole, had a very salutary effect, and it is generally assumed that the progress of reconstruction in post-war years in Britain far exceeds the progress made in any other country.<sup>1</sup>

The development of agriculture is also receiving considerable attention Britain has also been getting some loans from Canada, America, etc But the main credit for its economic reconstruction should be attributed to the willingness of the British people to sacrifice and lead a hard life Social amenities for the people have also increased Social security is now very much guaranteed. Education, especially higher education, has been expanded Almost free medical service is assured for the whole nation, and houses have been constructed for lakhs of people under government care Britain has made considerable advance in the last few years in the direction of the achievement of economic equality. The more important point is that even when the Conservative Party came to power in 1951, these items of the nation's well-being were allowed to continue as before<sup>2</sup> As a result of the shocks received in World War II, Britain has been forced to reorganise and reorientate its vast empire Britain has been making supreme efforts for national prosperity and for maintaining its national prestige, but it is too early to say whether it has finally succeeded.

**France: In the Abyss of Destruction.** Probably France suffered the most in the War. Its economic loss has been estimated at 26 billion dollars Nearly 5 lakh houses were completely destroyed as a result of which 7½ lakh families became homeless. Its railway lines were destroyed over hundreds of miles Its ships were

1. JED Hall *Labour's First Year*

For a critical review of Labour Party see J. Jewkes' *Ordeal by Planning*; A L Rouse *The End of an Epoch* In this second book light is thrown on the foreign policy of Britain between 1945-8, as also on its efforts at economic reconstruction

2 For a review of Britain's relations with its colonies during the last few years see H V Hotson's *20th Century Empire* and N Mansergh's *The Commonwealth and the Nations*

sunk and its ports were ruined. In the industrial sector, 50,000 factories were destroyed and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of factories suffered severe damages. About 60 lakhs acres of its land were unfit for cultivation. Nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of its soldiers and 2 lakhs civilians were killed. No other country had suffered such a terrible destruction, and the great tragedy of France was that it had no leader of first rank who could take the country as a whole under his powerful leadership towards economic reconstruction. During the War, after the fall of France de Gaulle continued resistance.<sup>1</sup> After the war a Fourth Republic was established in France and in place of de Gaulle, Felix Guan, the leader of the Socialist Party, became its Prime Minister. An Economic Council of 164 members was constituted for economic reconstruction. Two important reforms were undertaken in order to remove the defects of the old administration. On the one hand, decentralisation was emphasised, and on the other an attempt was made to link the administration of colonies with the administration of France. But from the economic point of view progress in France was very slow. A sharp conflict of ideologies was still continuing in France. Some people were emphasising nationalisation, but there were others who wanted to leave the question of economic reconstruction to individual initiative. An attempt was made to increase production under the Monnet plan. On a whole some economic progress was registered, but it was far from satisfactory. From the political point of view, France remained anarchic, the Democratic, Socialist and the Communist parties continued to work and quarrel as before. De Gaulle, who had now no relations with the Government was trying to organise the people of all political parties into one organisation on the basis of nationalism. Large numbers of people saw a solution of their difficulties in communism. It is undoubtedly true that if America had at that time not implemented a programme of European reconstruction, the Communist movement would have become very powerful in France.

**Italy and other Dictator countries of South-East Europe.** The waves of another War had crossed Italy, and Italy was once again experiencing the feeling of national dishonour. After the War a joint Allied military council was established

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<sup>1</sup> See G. Cattani, *Charles de Gaulle*. An account of the resistance movement in France will be found in E. Shibre's *Paris Underground*.



to run the administration of Italy. Almost all Allied powers were represented in it, but the most decisive influence was that of America and Britain, especially of Britain. The main object of the Allied nations in Italy was to destroy Fascism and to encourage democracy, and they were prepared to remove their armies from Italy as soon as a democratic administration was established. Britain was interested in the growth of a capitalist democracy in Italy so that its lifelines in the Mediterranean could be secure. The result, however, was that Britain ignored those elements in Italy who carried on underground resistance against Germany during the War years and who had the support of the Italian people. After the War, in the summer of 1946, elections were held in Italy, after which a Republic was declared. Italy's problems, however, were so complicated that they could not be easily solved. Italy had also suffered very severe loss during the war. Apart from the heavy loss it incurred in regard to its army, navy and air force, its agriculture as well as industry were also completely crushed. Communist influence continuously increased in Italy. The Communists were promising far-reaching land reforms under which redistribution of land was guaranteed. They were also emphasising the equal distribution of wealth and income in the country and the nationalisation of banks and key industries. These schemes also had the support of other political parties. Strikes and anarchy were increasing in the country and it is certain that if America had not offered its economic aid France as well as Italy would have gone to the Communist camp.

**Franco's Spain.** It can well be said that the Second World War began with the Civil War in Spain. But Spain remained neutral during the War. It is certain that in the first three years of the War, Spain helped Germany directly or indirectly, but in 1942, when the tide of the War turned, Spain first became neutral, and later it followed a policy of sympathetic neutrality towards the Allies. It is certain that if the Allied nations had not received the moral support of Spain, they would have met with difficulties in their plans for the military invasion of Europe. When the War ended, Spain was in difficult straits from the economic point of view. The standard of the living of the country had very much gone down and the political life was under a police regime. General Franco made an attempt to give a wider base to his dictatorial regime. But

at the same time, due to fear of civil war and the communists, he continued to maintain the police administration. Spain is the only country in the world about which it can be said that the army of the country behaves and lives in a manner as though it were an army of occupation. The military authorities have wide political powers. The policy of neutrality had resulted in a slight improvement in the economic life of Spain. But after the War the conditions continued to deteriorate. The vesting of complete political power in the hands of a dictatorial landlord and capitalist regime stood in the way of any reforms in the country. Spain was very anxious to join the United Nations in order to raise its international prestige. In the initial years it was not admitted to the United Nations because the Franco regime was regarded as one which had come into existence with the help of the Axis powers. But as the cold war between America and Russia developed, the opposition of the Western democracies towards Spain lessened, but Russia had firmly decided to use its power of veto in regard to the question of admission of Spain to the United Nations. In May 1949 the General Assembly of the United Nations announced that every country was free to have any relations with Spain it wanted. After this Spain has entered into trade agreements with Argentina, France and Great Britain, and the American attitude towards Spain had also become sympathetic, though America has not included Spain in its programmes for European economic reconstruction.

**Salazar's Portugal.** As in Spain, so in Portugal, there is a dictatorial regime under Salazar, which continues its traditions of dictatorship and autocracy. During the War years Portugal remained neutral like Spain and took full advantage of its neutrality by trading with both sides. The result was that when the War ended, Salazar's government was in a fairly prosperous way. At the same time, however, we should not forget that the Portuguese people are the poorest in Europe, and both from the point of view of agriculture as also industry, Portugal is a very very backward country. If after the war the attitude of the Allied nations towards Portugal has been sympathetic the reason is to be attributed to the fact that it has been staunchly anti-communist from the very beginning. Britain has maintained relations with Portugal for the last six centuries and its economic policy has become a part of the economic life of Britain. America's policy has never been

so much opposed to Portugal it has been opposed to Spain. The result, however, has been that as the Western nations became more and more sympathetic towards Portugal Russia's attitude towards it has stiffened. Portugal is an important member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the military strength of this small country is being continuously increased. The result has been that while countries like England and France have been forced to quit their colonies, Portugal seems to be determined to keep under its possession such colonies in Asia as Goa, Macao, etc. And although this policy of Portugal is being vehemently opposed in Asia, the Western Nations and America continue to extend to it their moral support.

**Germany Defeated and Crushed.** After the surrender of Germany, America, Britain, Russia and France took in their hands its administration. This country, the central place of European culture, was divided into four parts in which these four nations established their different regimes.<sup>1</sup>

In Berlin, the capital of Germany, the four big nations established a joint administration. The very object of the occupation of Germany presumably was that these four nations would rule over Germany in co-operation, but it was apparent from the very beginning that this co-operation was not possible. The Western nations and the Soviet Union had big differences on almost all matters—foreign and internal trade, land reforms, education, war compensation, political organisation etc. In January 1945 America and Britain established a joint government in co-operation with each other. The victorious nations wanted that the military might of Germany should be crushed and it should be liberated from Nazi ideology, and those Germans who had gone and settled in Poland and Czechoslovakia should be called back and settled in Germany. The well-known leaders of Nazi Germany namely Goering, Ribbentrop, Rosenberg, etc. were hanged and many other leaders were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. But the problem of economic reconstruction could not be so easily solved, and unless German economy improved, it was not possible for it to pay war compensation. The economic reconstruction of Germany, however, became yet more difficult on account

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<sup>1</sup> For a good account of the Military administration of Germany by the Allied Nations see S. Friedemann's *The Allied Military Government of Germany*.

of the differences between the East and the West. Russian influence was continuously increasing in East Europe, and the result was that the Western nations stopped thinking in terms of war compensation. Then new thinking was how to prepare Germany to take active part on their side in the coming war. England and America now began to give attention to the development of agriculture and industry in their respective zones of Germany. The earlier policy of destroying the German industries was reversed. Both England and America now supplied Germany with substantial capital for industrial development. The result was that by 1951, German production was on a par with the pre-War level, and its export trade also considerably increased. Russia was carrying on far-reaching economic reforms in its zone of Germany, but these reforms were based on a policy of nationalisation. The political progress of East Germany might have been checked but it is clear that under Russian control spectacular success was achieved there in the direction of economic advance within a short time.

In the summer of 1948 Western Germany was allowed to prepare the outline of a new constitution for itself, but foreign affairs, foreign trade, industrial policy and other important subjects were kept out of its jurisdiction. But the very fact that the Germans were allowed to draft a constitution for themselves indicates a new attitude of the Western powers towards Germany. General elections were held in August 1949 under the new constitution, and in this 80 per cent of the voters took part. The elections gave a majority to the Christian Democrats who politically belonged to the Right Wing, the next best were the Democratic Socialists who were the leading Leftist party in Western Germany. Their numbers respectively were 139 and 131. The leader of the first party was Adenaur. He, with the help of independent democrats who numbered 52, constituted in September 1949, the first elected Government after 1933. In the meantime in Eastern Germany a constitution was prepared under the principles of people's democracy and a German Government was installed under this Constitution. Actually, Germany became the chief point of the cold war between the East and the West. The Western nations wanted to use Germany as a strong fort against the spread of communism and on this they were prepared to spend unlimited wealth, on the other hand, in the interest of the spread of its ideology, and backed

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by the powerful Red Army and the most upto-date armaments, Russia wanted to use Germany to carry forward its own influence. The blockade of Berlin became the chief front of this conflict. In the course of the Potsdam declaration, the Western nations had been given certain portions in Berlin. But the areas in West Germany under their control were a hundred miles away from their possessions in Berlin. Russia attempted to break the contacts of Berlin with the Western nations by sea and land, as a counterblast to which the Western nations landed in Berlin many lakhs tons of goods by air. After 10 months towards the end of April 1949, Russia lifted the blockade of Berlin. In the meantime, France was engaged in efforts to take the Saar, the chief coal area of Germany, under its influence on a long-term basis. Germany, which once wanted to become the leader of the world, was now made the playground and puppet for the fulfilment of national ambitions and international politics.

### **The end of Democracy in Czechoslovakia.**

Czechoslovakia had gone under German tutelage even before the outbreak of World War II, and till the end of the War Germany continued to occupy it. In these seven years the population and resources of the country were fully utilised for the benefit of Germany. Since, however, the Czechoslovakian territory was not in the range of Allied bombardment, it did not suffer much industrial destruction. After the end of the War, leaving aside Carpatho-Ukraine, which was now part of Russian territory, Czechoslovakia got back all those areas which were snatched away from it in 1938 by Germany, Hungary and Poland. During the War years Benes and some of his companions had gone away to the United States. In the spring of 1945 they returned to Czechoslovakia and established a provisional government in co-operation with the leaders of the resistance movement. General elections were held in May 1946 in which the Communists secured about 40 per cent votes, following which an all-party government was constituted under the leadership of a communist leader, Clement Gottwald. The chief departments of the administration were given to the Communists. At the same time large-scale nationalisation of the key industries of the country was taken in hand. This work was easier because of the fact that during the war years most of these industries had been taken over by Germany and it was not at all difficult to take them under government control.

Because of the communist leadership in the government, and because of the nationalisation of 65 per cent of the industries of the country, it was very natural that Czechoslovakia was inclined towards Russia.

The Czechoslovakian Government drew up a two-year economic plan for its economic reconstruction under which the development of heavy industries was very much emphasised. Czechoslovakia needed large sums of money in order to carry out this plan. It could not get as much loan from America as it expected, because till then the United States had not drawn up any concrete plan for economic aid to other countries. When the Marshall Plan was launched in 1947, Czechoslovakia did not agree to join it. This did not mean that it had lost faith in individual democracy. Actually it was convinced that in the interests of the security of the country it has to depend upon Russia and it was necessary for it to orientate its foreign policy in accordance with Russian advice. The bitter experience that Czechoslovakia had of the Western democracies before the Second World War was still a festering sore in the eyes of the Czech people. In 1938, when England and France betrayed Czechoslovakia at Munich, it was Russia alone which had helped it. For these reasons, after the War Czechoslovakia had definitely gone under the Russian sphere of influence.<sup>1</sup>

Once having accepted the leadership of Russia in its foreign policy it was not possible for Czechoslovakia to prevent the interference of Russia in its internal policies. The influence of Communism increased considerably and during the national election of 1948, they kept under their control almost all sources of democratic influence. When the non-communist ministers resigned and expressed their opposition, Gottwald constituted a ministry entirely of communists. After this the administration, education, the daily papers, etc. were all brought under Com-

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1 At the Paris Peace Conference in 1946, Czechoslovakia supported Russia almost on all questions, and that may be the reason why in September 1949 America rejected its previous decision to advance a loan of 4 crore dollars to Czechoslovakia. At the same time, United States refused to carry on any further negotiations with Czechoslovakia on the question of advancing loans. The natural result of this was that Czechoslovakia became more and more dependent upon Russia for economic aid.

munist control with greater speed, and those who attempted to oppose were mercilessly crushed. The dead body of Jan Masaryk was found on a road near his house. By now the remaining industries, foreign trade, banking, etc., were also nationalised and distribution of land among the peasants as also its nationalisation was undertaken. The workers came under rigid government control, the hours of work were increased, and strikes were banned. Almost the entire trade of Czechoslovakia was now with Russia and the Balkan countries. In September 1948, after the death of Benes, it became comparatively easy to openly declare the association of Czechoslovakia with the Soviet Union.

**The Sovietisation of Poland.** The misfortune of Poland was that within three weeks of the outbreak of the War, it was incorporated in Germany and Russia. Its people, however, untiringly worked for their freedom and unity. After the division of Poland, a free Polish government was established in France under the leadership of General Sikorsky and its central office was later shifted to London. In June 1941, after Germany had attacked Russia, this government entered into a treaty with Russia. The Polish patriots believed that after this treaty, the division of Poland had been automatically quashed but, as was later revealed, Russia had no intention of leaving those areas of Poland which it had taken under its possession. The result was that after April 1943 the London Poles broke off their relations with Russia and Russia became more and more critical of the London Polish Government.<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 1943, after the death of Sikorsky, Mikolacyk constituted the London Government, and though he had leftist inclinations, no improvements were effected in the relations with Russia. Poland was liberated from German domination by the Russian armies. The underground movement in the German occupied areas received no assistance from Russia and they were crushed. In 1944, a Communist government was established in Poland which was immediately recog-

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1 The relations between Russia and Poland deteriorated following the incidents in the Katyn forests, where 10,000 Polish military officers had all of a sudden disappeared, and later their graves were found in the Katyn forests. When in April 1943 Germans occupied these provinces, they found the dead bodies of these officers and they charged Russia of having murdered them. When the International Red Cross Society proposed a thorough enquiry into the affair, Russia broke off all diplomatic relations with the Polish Government in London.

nised by Russia, but Britain and America refused to recognise it. At the Yalta Conference, the Western nations decided to compromise with Russia on the Polish question, and after giving to Poland some areas of Germany lying to its north and west, they accepted that the eastern provinces should remain with Russia. At the same time Russia agreed that it would press for the inclusion of some representatives of the Polish Government in London in the communist regime of Poland, and in the near future there would be free and unhampcred elections. In the meantime, however, the relations between the Western nations and Russia were continuously deteriorating and it was directly influencing unfortunate Poland

In June 1945, a provisional government was organised in Poland headed by a Communist Prime Minister. The other important portfolios were also held by the Communists. In this government, however, Mikolacyk and John Stancyk were also included, and Britain and America recognised this government on the assurance that very soon elections would be held in the country. At the Potsdam conference held in July-August 1945, it was finally agreed that the German areas to the east of the Oder and the Niese and the greater portion of east Prussia would be given to Poland. Russia, however, had already entered into an agreement with Poland to this effect and so Poland felt itself obliged to Russia for this concession. In January 1947 'free and unhampcred' elections were held. Even before that Mikolacyk and his companions were threatened and cajoled. The Communists had a very heavy majority in the elections, but the Western countries were strongly dissatisfied with the manner in which the elections were held. After the elections Poland became definitely inclined towards Russia. The administration and the constitution were also fundamentally altered. Those Communist leaders who refused to toe the Russian line were removed from office or arrested. Nationalisation was speeded up. The whole economy was reconstructed on Soviet lines. Landlordism was abolished and huge estates were distributed among the peasants. The state now controlled the entire foreign trade, which was mainly with Russia. In foreign matters also Poland was entirely under Russian influence. On Russian advice Poland refused to join the Marshall Plan. During its period of Security Council membership (1946-48), Poland worked under Russian direction. Poland was under Russian sphere of



influence both from the geographical as also military points of view, and it was impossible to stop the growing intimacy between Russia and Poland.

**Balkan countries : Rumania.** During 1940-44 Rumania fought with Germany against Russia after which it came under Russian domination. In the beginning a coalition ministry was constituted under the Prime Ministership of Antonescue. But with Russian inspiration Communist influence increased with every change in government. In February 1945 Vyshinsky went to Bucharest and under his direction an all-Communist government was constituted under Groza. All other political parties, and even those communists who were not prepared to toe the Russian line began to be crushed. For this loyalty to Russia, Rumania was awarded north Transylvania which had been in the possession of Hungary for the last five years. The new government in Rumania was recognised by Russia. Russia had now complete control over the economic life of the country, and its economy was now reorganised on Communist lines. In the beginning of 1947 the National Democratic Party of Groza, which actually was another name of the Communist party, got a huge majority in the elections<sup>1</sup>

After this attempts were made to crush the leaders of the opposition. Gen. Antonescue was hanged and Maniu, the elderly leader of the peasants' party, was jailed. The administration of Rumania was modelled on Soviet lines, and when elections were held under this new constitution in March 1948, 93 per cent of the deputies elected to the National Assembly belonged to the Communist party, and from then Rumania became a part of the Soviet sphere.

**Yugoslavia.** Yugoslavia had also to bow to the wishes of Hitler during the Second World War. The nationalists of the country did not accept this position without a struggle. In this conflict the patriots of Yugoslavia could not for a long time face the might of the armies of Germany, Bulgaria and

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1. In these elections Communists got 48 lakh votes, while all the other opposition parties combined got only 18 lakh votes. It is clear that behind this heavy majority for the communists was the policy of terrorisation which was being worked up by Groza ruthlessly.

Hungary<sup>1</sup> But even after its surrender Yugoslavia continued its resistance, and as time advanced this resistance became more organised, powerful and influential. Very soon the leadership of this entire movement came in the able hands of Marshal Tito. Tito was a Communist but he also burnt with the fire of patriotism. He defeated many attacks of Italy and Germany with his small military guerilla units. The military changes in 1944 profoundly influenced Yugoslavian politics. Yugoslavia was also liberated like other countries of Eastern Europe by the Red Army. After the end of German rule over Yugoslavia, a provisional government was constituted there under Tito which was recognised by Russia, England, France, and later by the United States. The Constitution of Yugoslavia was drawn up on the lines of the Soviet Union, and although some non-Communists were kept in the ministry the real power was in the hands of the Communists. Yugoslavia had to suffer heavy losses during the Second World War and the country could be reconstructed only by a planned policy of economic development. Even during the period of German occupation the country's economy was very much state-controlled and, therefore it could be imagined that there would not be much difficulty in following a Communist policy of state-control. In Yugoslavia, as in other East European countries, there was huge investment of foreign capital in heavy industry and for Tito to expropriate British and French capital would have meant the raising of a thousand political difficulties. The hesitation of Tito to follow such a course resulted in refusal by Russia to give it the required help. In 1947 Tito prepared a five-year plan of development for Yugoslavia, but when the question of implementation came there grew up differences between Yugoslavia and Russia. Russia wanted that Yugoslavia's foreign policy should give greater attention to the requirements of Russia, whereas Yugoslavia wanted mainly to concentrate on its own development. When Yugoslavia did not get the co-operation of Russia in its policy of nationalisation, then with great courage it liberated itself from the Russian sphere of influence and established closer economic ties with the Western countries. After Yugoslavia adopted this new policy, America, Britain

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1. During the war, in the small country of Yugoslavia, 3,500 bridges were destroyed and thousands of factories and homes were burnt. It has been estimated that 17 lakh Yugoslavian youths lost their lives in the various battles and after the war five lakh orphans and naked and hungry people moved about on the streets of Yugoslavia.

and France, which were not prepared to help till it had liberated itself from the Russian influence now gave it the fullest assistance. On the other hand Russia's anger increased. Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform, and Russia and its allies economically boycotted it. By the end of 1950 it had become clear that even though firmly believing in the Communist ideology, Yugoslavia was prepared to have the closest relations with Western nations. This was an unprecedented experiment in co-existence.

**Bulgaria.** Bulgaria also had to join the war on the side of Hitler. There were, however, innumerable elements in the country which were sympathetic to Russia. When Russian armies marched westward towards the end of 1944, Bulgaria was liberated from Nazi influence and a provisional coalition government was constituted, and it was controlled by Communists. This government began to mercilessly crush the Fascists and democrats. Under the circumstances it was not possible for the Western countries to recognise this provisional government. In the elections held in 1945 the provisional government got 70 per cent of the votes but the Western nations objected to the method of elections. Russia, however, immediately recognised the new regime. In September 1946, the Bulgarian People's Republic was declared, and when elections were held towards the end of October the Communists got a heavy majority. After that an openly Communist government was established in Bulgaria under the Prime Ministership of Dimitrov. Some leaders of the opposition parties including Nicola Petrov were hanged and some were imprisoned for long terms. In December 1947 Bulgaria accepted Soviet Constitution and became a part of the Soviet Bloc.

**Attempts at European reconstruction** It is difficult to estimate the total loss in Europe of men and money during the Second World War. It is said that more than a crore of soldiers and nearly 2 crores of civilians had to lose their lives. Apart from this, a larger number of persons were maimed and mutilated. Properties worth 300 to 400 billions were destroyed. But worse than all this was that the will power of Europe was crushed, and it became impossible for it to save itself without foreign assistance. It was only the United States which could offer such help. In 1943, the United Nations

had set up an organisation with the object of helping other war-torn states with the co-operation of the military or local authorities. This organisation is called the United Nations Recovery and Rehabilitation Administration. During the last months of the War, and after the end of the War, this organisation saved thousands of people from starvation and death in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Besides, a body called the International Refugee Organisation was also set up to help the refugees. In July 1944, as a result of the Bretton Woods Conference, an International Bank and an International Monetary Fund for economic reconstruction were instituted with the object of helping the devastated countries in their work of reconstruction, and to give stability to the currencies of these countries. Apart from this, Britain and America gave huge loans to these nations. In the post-war years, an International Trade Organisation was also set up under the auspices of the United Nations Organisation. In the meantime, the Western nations, and especially the United States, thought that Russia had plunged headlong, with the help of its armies, in the propagation of the Communist ideology not only in Eastern Europe but also in Western Europe. The passing of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc., under the Soviet sphere of influence had brought about a shaky situation for France and Italy. Under the circumstances it was natural to make the work of economic aid a means for the fulfilment of political objectives. In March 1947, the American President announced a policy which is better known as the 'Truman Doctrine'. Till now England was engaged in preventing the spread of Russian influence in Greece and Turkey, but now its economic situation had deteriorated to such an extent that it became essential for it to withdraw its armies from there. America then advanced to take up that position. President Truman believed that America should help all those countries which were trying to resist the domination of armed minorities within their country, or the influence of external powers. In following this policy, however, America did not always consider it necessary to support only democratic forces in the countries it was helping, and more often than not, in its anxiety to oppose Communism, it encouraged fascist tendencies.

#### **The Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty.**

In the summer of 1947, America announced a huge and comprehensive plan of economic aid for saving the tottering

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economy of Europe from total collapse and to prevent the passing of the countries of Western Europe under Soviet sphere of influence. This is the famous Marshall Plan. A conference was held at Paris to find out ways of implementing this plan. From the very beginning Russia believed that this plan was directed against it and, therefore, it refused to co-operate with it as also its associate countries. As a result the differences between the East and the West deepened. Russia took the eastern countries of Europe under its economic and political control with greater firmness. As against this, the Western European countries used the Marshall Plan for their economic and political reconstruction. In order to implement this Plan the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C.) was created. This organisation studied the economic requirements of Western European countries and made all efforts to get American aid for them. At the same time rapid steps were taken to bring together the countries of Western Europe.

The first five-year scheme under the Marshall Plan was completed by 1952. Funds for implementing this Plan were received from America and therefore it was inevitable that American influence increased over the Western European countries. America not only gave economic aid to the European countries but also organised them in a military way. From this point of view an organisation called the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (N.A.T.O.) was created comprising of countries lying on the Atlantic coast. It was, in fact, further development of the organisation created in March 1948 comprising of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg known as the Benelux countries, which was later joined by England and France. In the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, besides these five countries, America, Canada and Norway also joined after the Treaty was signed. Denmark, Iceland, Italy and Portugal joined it later. The main object of this organisation was to prevent aggression of Russia in Western Europe. The natural consequence of the consolidation of Western Europe in a military organisation under the leadership of the United States was that the Soviet Union further tightened its control over Eastern Europe and consequently the dangers of a war between the United States and Russia increased. America believes that helping Europe militarily is complementary to the economic aid given by it, and without this it is not possible to defend Western Europe. How-

ever, in its efforts to save Western Europe from Communism, America seems to forget that its main object is to strengthen the democratic forces in Western Europe. If Communism is a powerful force as an ideology, it is equally certain that its challenge should be met by an ideology which is as sharp and inspiring as Communism. Very often it appears that America forgets this ideological background of the present conflict, and is organising the Western European countries for a war against Russia.